

ORATIONS, ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES OF
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
ED. BY JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN ... (V.1
) (1910)





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Orations
Addresses and Speeches
OF
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

EDITED BY
JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN

VOLUME I
ORATIONS AND MEMORIAL ADDRESSES



NEW YORK
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By CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

BY HONORABLE HENRY CABOT LODGE

United States Senator from Massachusetts



DISTINGUISHED alike at the Bar and in business, as the President of a great railroad system and as a Senator of the United States, Mr. Depew has had a career of incessant activity and has been, far more than is given to most men, in touch with life and the movements of his time. In addition to this he has spoken in public on a greater variety of subjects probably than any other man of our day during the past half century. It is in that way perhaps that he is better known than in any other. To thousands of people who could tell little perhaps of his arduous work as lawyer and as business man his name and his utterances are as familiar as household words. These thousands who have listened to him have been charmed and moved by his eloquence, influenced by his arguments, and delighted by his unfailing wit and overflowing humor. In these volumes are gathered and preserved his speeches, and a mere glance at the contents shows the really astonishing variety of the occasions upon which Mr. Depew has spoken and of the subjects with which he has dealt. Not only does he range from grave to gay, from lively to severe, but history and politics, biography and literature all find a place. Yet is there something far more important in these volumes than the record of the speaker's opinions and arguments which people are generally prone to think is all that is to be found in speeches. Writers of history look to the speeches of the period which they seek to describe for their best authorities, not only as to the facts and conditions of the time but for the feeling of the moment with which the spoken word and no other is charged. The historians of Greece and Rome felt this so strongly that they not only wrote speeches for their heroes but used the historical present because that tense seemed to make the past live again more vividly. Here in these volumes we have not only the political and parliamentary

speeches to which historians turn but speeches which touch almost every phase of life, which help to make the past live again, not merely as it was in the Senate or on the hustings but as it existed at the college commencement, the celebration of historic events, at the dinner table, and at the gathering to commemorate the great men of the past. Here in these volumes, set forth with humor and wit, with eloquence and feeling, we can find unrolled a panorama of our American life during the last fifty years. From them we can learn that best of all historical lessons which Browning summed up in the title of his famous poem: "How it Strikes a Contemporary."

Washington, May 18, 1910.

Henry Cabot Lodge

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CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW



CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW, statesman, counsellor, orator, and man of the world, whose name is known everywhere, was born in Peekskill, Westchester County, New York, April 23, 1834, of Huguenot and New England parentage. His father, Isaac Depew, a prominent citizen and merchant, was a lineal descendant of François Du Puy, a Huguenot, who fled from France during the religious persecutions of the seventeenth century.

The name Du Puy or De Puy is an ancient one, having been prominent as early as the eleventh century. Raphael Du Puy was an officer of rank in 1030 under Conrad II, of the Holy Roman Empire, and Hugues Du Puy, his son, distinguished himself in the Crusades. The family was early in France, and its history is marked down the centuries by many noted names and titles both in Church and State. In the religious upheaval that culminated in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew part of the family became identified with the Genevan or Calvinistic party, which, under the name of Huguenots, became so powerful under Henry IV that it was granted freedom of worship in 1598 by the Edict of Nantes. After the capture of La Rochelle, the Huguenot headquarters, by Richelieu in 1628, many of the faith, despairing of attaining religious peace at home, migrated to England and the Low Countries, and some of them eventually to the New World.

Among those who thus left the land of their fathers were two brothers, Nicolas and François Du Puy, who escaped from Paris, tradition says, in 1651, on hearing of their threatened arrest, and went into the Netherlands. Some ten years later François, the younger, sailed for New Amsterdam in the New World, where he arrived three or four years before its occupation by the English. François, who was followed by his brother Nicolas a year later, appears first in Breuckelen (Brooklyn), where he was married, September 26, 1661, to Geertje Willems, daughter of Willem Jacobs Van Boerum. He was living at this

time in Bushwick, east of Brooklyn, but in 1677 is recorded a member of the Dutch Church at Flatbush. In 1687 he is at Haverstraw, now in Rockland County, on the west bank of the Hudson, whence he crossed the river in 1702 into Westchester County, and settled on a tract originally purchased from the Indians in 1685, under a license from Governor Dongan. Though this tract fell eventually within the political limits of the Manor of Cortlandt, erected in 1697, its soil was held in fee by its proprietors, from one of whom it was named Ryke's Patent, Ryke being the Dutch abbreviation of Richard. Part of this Patent, on which the village of Peekskill was founded in 1764, belonged to François Depew, and the last of his share was given in 1896 by Chauncey M. Depew to the city of Peekskill for a public park.

The surname Du Puy has masqueraded in many forms in its passage through Dutch into English, and we find it recorded as Dupuis, Dupui, Dupuy, Depee, Depuy, De Pue, Depu, Depew, etc. François, grandson of the original François, who was baptized August 20, 1700, in the old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow at Tarrytown, is generally recorded "Frans De Pew," and later the surname takes its present form, Depew. Abraham Depew, grandson of this Frans, who was baptized at Tarrytown, April 5, 1752, married Catherine, daughter of Capt. James Cronkite, and became the great grandfather of Chauncey Mitchell Depew. He enlisted in 1777 in the Third Regiment of the Manor of Cortlandt, commanded by Col. Pierre Van Cortlandt and subsequently, on the election of Col. Van Cortlandt as Lieutenant-governor, by Col. Drake, and served until his discharge as a corporal in 1780, at the close of the war. From him and from Captain Cronkite Mr. Depew derives his right as a Son of the American Revolution.

Mr. Depew's New England affiliations are derived from his mother, who was born Martha Mitchell, daughter of Chauncey Root and Ann (Johnstone) Mitchell. Chauncey Root Mitchell, a distinguished lawyer of Westchester County and afterwards of Delaware County, where he was until his death the partner of the famous lawyer and statesman, General Erastus Root, was noted for ability as an advocate and orator. Ann Johnstone was the daughter of Judge Robert Johnstone of Putnam County, for many years State Senator and Judge. He was a large landed

proprietor, owning Lake Mahopac and much of the country around it. Mrs. Depew's grandfather was the Rev. Justus Mitchell, a lineal descendant of Major Matthew Mitchell, who came to New England in 1633 from Halifax, Yorkshire. Rev. Justus Mitchell married Martha Sherman, daughter of Rev. Josiah and Martha (Minott) Sherman, and niece of Hon. Roger Sherman, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Martha Sherman was fifth in descent from Captain John Sherman, who was born at Dedham, County Essex, England, in 1615, and who married Martha, daughter of William and Grace Palmer.

Mr. Depew's New England ancestry thus includes, besides the Mitchells and the Shermans, the blood of the Palmers, Winships, Wellingtons, Minotts, and Johnstones, all notable families in the New World. His mother, from whom were derived many of the characteristics that have conduced to his success, was of marked personal beauty, varied accomplishments, and social prominence. She died in 1885.

Peekskill, Mr. Depew's natal place, named after Jan Peek, an early Dutch navigator, has now a population of more than fifteen thousand. The Depew homestead, a picturesque building with a portico supported by Ionic columns, shown in the vignette on the first title page, is still in possession of the family, and Mr. Depew, although his residence is in New York City, delights to call this house and Peekskill his home. The country around it is replete with historic and patriotic associations, especially those connected with the Arnold and André episode, treated so masterfully in one of his orations, and doubtless had its influence in forming his character in youth.

The favorable situation of Peekskill on the east bank of the Hudson made it the market for the country back of it as far as the Connecticut State line, and the shipping-point of its produce to New York, from which it is distant about forty miles. The transportation of freight, wholly by the river, was controlled almost entirely by Isaac Depew and his brother, both energetic farmers and merchants. There were no railroads in those days, but the New York and Albany steamboats, of rival lines, were always a subject of interest, attracting crowds to the bank as they passed up or down the river, often racing. Each boat had its partisans, and Vanderbilt and Drew, the principal owners, were popular heroes with the youth of the village, among whom young

Depew was by no means backward. These boats and his father's business led him early to take interest in the transportation problem, to which in later years he devoted so much time and successful study.

The boy's first instruction was received from his mother, a lady of rare education and culture. He was next put in charge of Mrs. Westbrook, the wife of an able and well-informed clergyman, who had a small school for children under ten. Dr. Westbrook, a man of extensive reading and encyclopædic information, took an interest in the youth, walked and talked often with him as if his equal and, while instructing him in the history and politics of the past, imbued him with ideas in relation to the present which developed in time into the faith characteristic of his later years. Through the training thus received the apt pupil, who was also an omnivorous reader, became informed beyond his years on the events and political issues of the past and the present, and was often able to confound the village oracles who expounded their views at the postoffice, bank, or drug store. Regarded as a prodigy, he became a leader among his fellows, who looked up to him as one who gave unmistakable promise of future brilliancy and usefulness.

The period between his tenth and eighteenth years was passed at the Peekskill Academy, an old-fashioned institution designed primarily to prepare boys for a business career, and its students were expected to go out early into the world of work. Isaac Depew had placed his son there in the hope that he would join him in his business, but the youth, influenced probably by his mother and the instructions of Dr. Westbrook, had visions of a more ambitious career. Fortunately these visions were aided by the advice of Judge Nelson, son of the Hon. William Nelson, who remarked to the elder Depew one evening: "You ought to send Chauncey to college." This was the entering wedge, and the father, after a season of deliberation, concluded to take the Judge's advice, though when Yale college was suggested, he interposed objections. An old-fashioned business man and a Jackson Democrat, he had the distrust of Yankees characteristic of a "Hudson River Dutchman" and a reader of Irving and Cooper. But the wishes of his wife, whose descent from New England progenitors naturally turned her preferences in that direction, finally prevailed, and Chauncey was sent to Yale.

My first acquaintance with Chauncey Depew began in 1852 when he arrived in New Haven to enter the class that was to graduate in 1856, which in after years won the title of the "Famous Class of '56," partly on account of the general good standing of its members in the various professions and especially because it had two representatives on the Bench of the Supreme Court at Washington, Henry Billings Brown and David Josiah Brewer. In this class, consisting of some one hundred and twenty-five men, Depew soon made his mark, winning his way to the front largely through personal attractions, but particularly by his gift as a speaker which made him the orator of the class. He seldom lost an opportunity to enter into a debate and always acquitted himself creditably. His classmates still remember with pride his effort in the debate between the two societies, Linonia and Brothers in Unity, in which he appeared as the champion of the former with Wayne MacVeagh of the Class of 1853.

Depew's personal appearance at this period was striking. He was taller than many of his classmates and had sharp well chiselled features marked by the prominent aquiline nose still characteristic of him. His abundant yellow hair was worn long, in the fashion of the time, nearly reaching his shoulders. He always dressed well, exhibiting a penchant for elaborately tied cravats decorated with the pin of his secret society. His roommate and most intimate friend was George Chester Robinson, afterwards prominent in the Methodist Episcopal Church, who, of about the same height and alike noted for fashionable costume, was often seen with him on Chapel Street, especially on pleasant afternoons when ladies were out.

Depew came to College a Democrat. Like his father and other members of the family, he belonged to the conservative wing of the party willing to leave the slavery question in abeyance, nicknamed in New York State "Old Hunkers" to distinguish them from the "Barnburners," or Free Soil Democrats, who were opposed to any further extension of slavery into the Territories. There were three Presidential candidates in the field in 1852, when our class first met under the elms of Yale, Franklin Pierce, the nominee of the National Democratic Party, Winfield Scott of the Whig Party, and John P. Hale of the Free Soil Democrats. In the frequent debates on the campus, in which the

old topics of Tariff, Internal Improvements, and National Bank had given place to the more burning questions of the day, the Fugitive Slave Law, Personal Liberty Bills, and the extension of slavery, Depew at first upheld the traditional politics of his family, but with the trend of events his principles gradually underwent a change. In 1853 the famous Kansas-Nebraska Bill caused the disintegration of the old parties and a formation on new lines in relation to the slavery question. The eloquent discussions of the many phases of these questions by the Rev. Dr. Bacon from the pulpit of the Centre Church, and of Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, William Lloyd Garrison, and other famous anti-slavery orators from public platforms in New Haven, aroused in Depew a consciousness that he was on the wrong side of the great questions of the day and finally caused him to repudiate the principles in which he had been educated and to cast his lot with the Anti-Nebraska Men. When early in 1856 the Anti-Nebraska Men adopted the name Republican Party, later characterized by Democrats with a contemptuous addition as "*Black* Republican," Depew transferred his allegiance to the new party; and when, in June, John Charles Fremont, of California, whose explorations in the West had won him the title of the "Pathfinder," was made the Republican standard bearer, our classmate enlisted under his banner with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds.

I shall never forget Depew's public announcement of his change of principles. In company with John Mason Brown, of Kentucky, afterward prominent at the Bar and in the politics of his State, and who, but for his early death, would probably have been the third member of our Class to sit on the Supreme Court Bench, I was walking up Chapel Street on the side of the Green when our attention was attracted by a voice from across the street:

"Boys, I'm going to do it."

"Do what?" we both asked, as we recognized "Chat" Depew, as he was familiarly known to his classmates.

"Vote for Fremont."

Though Depew's change of principles was no secret to those who had often heard him discourse when seated under the elms, or on the historic fence in front of the old brick row, the an-

nouncement came somewhat in the nature of a surprise to both of us.

Depew had scarcely received his degree when he threw himself heart and soul into the canvass in support of Fremont and Dayton, making speeches in their behalf and beginning the political career which made him so prominent a figure in every succeeding presidential campaign. As he has himself recorded, his defection from parental principles nearly broke his father's heart and caused him to shed tears of mortification when his son first appeared on a Republican platform in his native village. But the son had thoroughly weighed the situation and though doomed to disappointment in the defeat of Fremont and the election of Buchanan and Breckenridge, he saw no reason to recede from the advanced position he had assumed. The new party, with its hopeful and brilliant radicalism and its avowed declaration that it was "the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit Slavery and Polygamy in the Territories," appealed strongly to his sense of justice and humanity, and led him to even greater effort in favor of its principles.

After leaving Yale Depew entered the law office of the Hon. William Nelson as a student, in 1858 was admitted to the Bar, and in the following year began in Peekskill the practice of his profession in which he soon demonstrated his ability. But his early interest in politics did not desert him and seemed for a time destined to interfere seriously with his business. In 1858 he was elected a delegate to the Republican State Convention, and to every State Convention but two up to and including 1908; and he was one of the four Delegates at Large from New York to the Republican National Conventions of 1888, 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904, and a delegate in 1908.

In 1860 he took the stump for Lincoln and Hamlin, making many speeches and meeting with an enthusiastic reception wherever he went. He was then only twenty-six years old, but his skill as an orator and his careful analysis of the great questions at issue showed that his ability and judgment were in advance of his years. In 1861 he was elected a Member of the New York Assembly from the Third Westchester District, in which the Democrats had usually had a good working majority, a high compliment to his personal popularity. In this position he exhibited such intelligence, industry, and tact, and watched so

carefully over the interests of his constituents that he was re-elected in 1862, and his name was prominently mentioned in connection with the speakership. He acted as Speaker *pro tem.* during part of the session, was Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and received other honors unusual for one so young in years and experience.

In 1863 Mr. Depew was put on the State ticket as the candidate of the Republican Party for Secretary of State. In the previous election the Democrats had won a signal victory under their standard bearer, Horatio Seymour, one of the purest and ablest statesmen New York has produced, and in order to insure success the Republicans were obliged not only to exercise care in the selection of candidates but also to put forth their most earnest efforts to overcome the prestige of Governor Seymour's popularity. But Mr. Depew was equal to the occasion. He entered with enthusiasm into the contest, leading his forces with a skill and energy that overcame all obstacles, speaking twice a day for six consecutive weeks with a vigor and commanding eloquence that entranced his listeners, and winning a notable victory with a majority of thirty thousand. He discharged the duties of the office with so much ability that he was offered a renomination, but, though flattered by the confidence of his party, was obliged by business interests to decline.

When Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Lincoln, one of his earliest acts was to reward Mr. Depew for his services to the party. He made out his commission as Collector of the Port of New York, then one of the most lucrative gifts within the President's bestowal; but before he had sent it to the Senate for confirmation he became incensed against Edwin D. Morgan, then United States Senator from New York, because he refused to sustain his veto of the Civil Rights Bill, and angrily tore up the document. Later in President Johnson's administration, William H. Seward, then Secretary of State, secured the appointment of Mr. Depew as United States Minister to Japan, and it was confirmed by the Senate, but after holding the matter under advisement for a month, the position was declined for family reasons.

While thus apparently turning his back on a career that offered the most flattering prospects, Mr. Depew felt it his duty to withdraw from politics and to devote himself assiduously to his

chosen profession, the law. This he was enabled to do with a greater promise of success than in his earlier days, for the experience won in his political career had brought with it a confidence in himself and his resources and a matured knowledge of men and of affairs that made him the equal of any among his contemporaries, even of his superiors in years. About this time he attracted the attention of Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose success in steamboat navigation had won him the popular sobriquet of "Commodore," and who had already laid the foundation of the great railway system afterwards known as the "Vanderbilt system." Mr. Depew, who had won the friendship of the Commodore's son, William H. Vanderbilt, was surprised one day by an offer of a position in the railway service.

"Politics don't pay, Chauncey," said the Commodore. "The business of the future in this country is railroading."

This settled the question of Mr. Depew's future and he at once accepted the offer and applied himself to the study of railroad transportation in which he won so signal a success. In 1866 he became attorney for the New York and Harlem Railroad Company, and in 1869, when this road was consolidated with the New York Central Railroad with Commodore Vanderbilt at its head, Mr. Depew was chosen attorney for the new corporation and later a member of its Board of Directors. As the Vanderbilt railway system expanded Mr. Depew's interests and duties increased in a corresponding degree, and in 1875 he was appointed General Counsel for the entire system and elected a Director in each of the roads of which it was composed. The system comprised at the time, besides the New York Central, Harlem, and Hudson River Railroads, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern; the Michigan Central; the Canada Southern; the Chicago and Northwestern; the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha; the West Shore; the Nickel Plate; the Boston and Albany; the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis; the Chesapeake and Ohio; the Milwaukee, Lake Shore, and Western; the Rome, Watertown, and Ogdensburg; the Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley, and Pittsburg; the Walkill Valley; the Beech Creek; the Carthage and Adirondack; and the Gouveneur and Oswegatchie railroads.

In 1872, at the earnest solicitation of Horace Greeley, Mr. Depew permitted the use of his name as a candidate for Lieu-

tenant-governor on the Liberal Republican or Greeley ticket, and shared, as he had probably expected, in the defeat of that party. But he acted with the Republican Party the next year, as he had done every year previous to 1872 since his graduation at Yale, and he canvassed the State and country in behalf of that party in every important election after that date. In 1874 he was chosen by the Legislature a Regent of the State University and also one of the Commissioners to build the Capitol at Albany.

In 1881, when the famous quarrel with President Garfield was followed by the resignation from the United States Senate of Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, Mr. Depew was a favorite candidate for the succession to the unexpired term of Mr. Platt and would probably have won if the assassination of President Garfield had not thrilled the nation with horror and brought about a termination of the long struggle. The Legislature adjourned on the announcement of the tragedy and when it reassembled Mr. Depew, who had led in the contest and needed but ten votes for an election, was the first to point the duty of the hour in a manly letter after the fortieth ballot had shown his undiminished strength. "Neither the State nor the Party," he said, "can afford to have New York unrepresented in the National Councils. A great crime has plunged the nation into sorrow, and in the midst of the prayers and the tears of the whole people, supplicating for the recovery and weeping over the wound of the President, this partisan strife should cease." After grateful acknowledgment to those who had so zealously supported him in the long struggle, saying "their devotion will be the pride of my life and the heritage of my children," Mr. Depew withdrew his name and on the eighth of July the Caucus nominated Warner Miller, who was elected in joint convention on the forty-eighth ballot.

Amid the glowing tributes of the thoughtful men of his party for the noble disinterestedness that led him to offer himself a sacrifice for its interests, Mr. Depew left the political field and resumed his ordinary work as if nothing of consequence had happened to interrupt the current of his life. But his party friends did not forget his loyalty and devotion and five years later, when the Republicans had a majority of nearly two-thirds in the Legislature, the United States senatorship was offered to

him; but he had then become committed to so many business and professional engagements that he felt obliged to decline the honor

The resignation of Mr. William H. Vanderbilt from the presidency of the New York Central had led meanwhile to a reorganization of the company, in which Mr. James H. Rutter was made President and Mr. Depew Second Vice-president; and on the death of Mr. Rutter in 1885 Mr. Depew was elevated to the presidency, thus becoming the executive head of one of the greatest railway corporations in the world, a position of unlimited wealth and power. This office he held for thirteen years, executing with skill and ability the duties connected with it, acting meanwhile also as president of six other railway companies allied to the Vanderbilt system, and as a director in twenty-eight additional lines. On his resignation of the presidency in 1898, he was made Chairman of the Board of Directors of the entire Vanderbilt system of railroads, a position he still holds.

In 1888, when Mr. Depew was Delegate at Large from the State of New York to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, his name was presented as a candidate for the presidential nomination, and his State cast its seventy votes as a unit for him. On subsequent ballots this was considerably increased and his strength as a candidate was generally acknowledged, but when it became apparent, from opposition in the West, that the nomination of one so strongly allied to railway interests might imperil the success of the party in States previously Republican, he asked the New York delegation to consent to the withdrawal of his name. After informing the Convention in a forcible and dignified speech that a nomination at all hazards was not the goal of his ambition, and declining to receive further ballots, he resumed his place as Delegate at Large and by strenuous efforts secured the nomination of Benjamin Harrison. After election President Harrison tendered to Mr. Depew any place in his Cabinet except Secretary of State which had been promised to Mr. James G. Blaine, but Mr. Depew felt obliged to decline.

At the next Republican National Convention, at Minneapolis in 1892, when most of the national leaders of the party were opposed to the renomination of President Harrison, Mr. Depew, at the request of the President and the Harrison forces and with

the object of influencing opinion in his behalf, delivered several addresses in Minneapolis before the meeting of the Convention, realizing that he would have among his hearers many of its members; and in the Convention he made a speech in advocacy of the nomination of President Harrison for a second term so able and convincing as to contribute materially to the result. That Mr. Harrison appreciated his efforts in his behalf was shown in his earnest invitation to Mr. Depew to accept the place in his cabinet of Secretary of State, made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Blaine. But Mr. Depew, recognizing that the same reasons which actuated his determination to withdraw from the presidential race in 1888 still militated against his acceptance of any political office—that such acceptance by one so prominently identified with railway interests might lead to the raising of new issues in the States in which such questions were still unsettled—felt compelled to decline the honor.

In addition to his railway and political engagements, exacting enough to occupy the entire time of a less active man, Mr. Depew has numerous social and semi-social duties. He is a member of many societies, such as the Huguenot Society, the Holland and St. Nicholas Societies, the New England Society, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Masonic Order, and of numerous clubs and other organizations, all of which involve diverse responsibilities. He was for many years in succession elected President of the Yale Alumni Association of New York, declining a reelection after a decade of service, and was for twelve years a member of the Yale Corporation. For seven successive years, too, he was President of the Union League Club, a longer term than ever held by any other, and on declining further election was made an honorary life member. He is also a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce and a director of so many financial, fiduciary, and other corporations and trusts that it is impossible to enumerate them in so brief a sketch.

Though burdened with such responsibilities Mr. Depew always finds time for rest and recreation. This is not only because he displays a phenomenal capacity for the disposal of work, but because he so systematizes his labors that one occupation is never permitted to interfere with another. His rest and recreation are found rather in change of occupation than in the repose which most men seek after their labors, and he returns from reading

and study to weightier cares refreshed and reinvigorated. In an address before the graduating class of Columbia University Law School in 1882 he emphasized the value of utilizing odd hours by relating the response of Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times* who was writing his "Life of Lincoln," to a query of his own. "How is it possible for you," he asked, "editing a great daily newspaper and immersed in public affairs, to find time for the research necessary to gather the materials and for the composition of this work?" "An hour conscientiously devoted every morning before breakfast," replied Mr. Raymond, "will soon fill a library." He quoted also the advice to our Class at Yale of the elder Professor Silliman, that grand old man then long past his allotted three score years and ten: "Young gentlemen, as the result of my experience and observation I have one piece of advice to give you. Improve with reading the odd five minutes. It is astonishing how many of them there are."

Mr. Depew's chief recreation is public speaking. "Speech-making is a tonic to me," he has said, "and not an occupation of wear and tear. It gets the mind into another channel and answers the same purpose as the Greek and Latin translation of Mr. Gladstone; as horse-driving did to Commodore Vanderbilt, and as cards do to most business men. The difference between my recreation and that of other business men is that mine is all in public." What would be a subject of anxiety and of long and hard labor to most men is but a necessary diversion to him. His more important orations and addresses are dictated to a stenographer and typewritten, though his memory is so tenacious that he never uses notes in delivery; but many of his after-dinner speeches are extemporaneous, born of the time and the occasion, for he has the rare talent of thinking on his feet and is never at a loss for a word or a simile.

It is doubtful if any other public speaker, either in the past or the present, has shown such versatility in the choice of subjects as Mr. Depew. "The soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution," says a late chronicler, "have had their virtues eulogized by Mr. Depew on centennial occasions; the political and military leaders of the Civil War have had their services commemorated by him in memorial addresses delivered while the nation was still in mourning at their graves; eminent authors, actors, and discoverers, foreign and native-born, have been introduced to ex-

pectant audiences or made welcome at hospitable clubs in his thrice-familiar voice; religious, political, educational, commercial, legal, medical, athletic, literary, and even agricultural gatherings have listened with delight to speeches calculated to a nicety for the intellectual latitude in which they found expression. Sometimes Mr. Depew has made an address that was mirth-provoking from beginning to end; but oftener he has veiled some serious intent behind the mask of raillery; and as often, again, has he spoken on questions whose gravity has forced his laughter-loving side into complete retirement. His model, when historical themes engage his attention, is Macaulay; and his preparations to deliver an historical address consists partly in reading over several of Macaulay's essays. The clear staccato quality of his periods, in all his serious utterances, must remind the reader or listener of his illustrious exemplar; and it would be hard to choose a more effective model for such orations, delivered in the main before people who prize lucidity above all other qualities in speech or writing."

Mr. Depew has been often called one of the best of after-dinner speakers, but such a characterization, though eminently true, does him an injustice, for that is but one phase of his many-sided eloquence. Justin McCarthy, in his "Reminiscences," discussing Lord Rosebery as an after-dinner speaker, says: "I rank him with Charles Dickens, with the late Lord Granville, with James Russell Lowell and with Chauncey Depew, and I do not know that I can say anything higher in praise. I had many opportunities of meeting Dickens, and of course heard all his readings and heard him deliver several after-dinner speeches. Let me say at once that he was the very best after-dinner speaker I ever heard. I do not quite know whom I should put second to him. Sometimes I feel inclined to give Mr. James Russell Lowell that second place and sometimes my mind impels me to give it to Mr. Lowell's countryman, Mr. Chauncey Depew."

The author of "Off hand Sketches of Prominent New Yorkers" very correctly says: "The characteristic of Mr. Depew's speaking is that it does not depend upon verbal jokes nor funny stories for its success. It is the true humor which grows naturally out of the subject, and is based upon a common substratum of common sense. To adapt it, therefore, for the bar, or the political rostrum, or the legislative committee, Mr. Depew has

only to restrain the humor a little and push the common sense to the front. But whether at the social board, or before the courts, or upon the stump, or in the legislature, his grave, earnest, serious manner never varies. He is as seemingly unconscious of what he says as poor Artemus Ward used to be; he has the solemnity without the tedious slowness of Mark Twain. For the felicity of his phrases, the force of his expressions, the calm, even, steady flow of his language, he has seldom been equaled and never surpassed. While he is speaking, without the slightest apparent effort, you wonder at the copiousness of his vocabulary; but he is as terse as he is fluent. His oratory is like a broad, deep, mighty river, upon which tiny pleasure boats of wit and humor can dance in the sunshine, but which is also capable of sustaining and transporting the heavily weighted argosies of law and politics."

It is impossible to speak in detail, within the limits of an article like this, of Mr. Depew's numerous and varied efforts in the field of oratory in which he has won a success scarcely equaled by any of his contemporaries; but the reader will find an attempt at their classification in the following eight volumes of speeches covering so many departments of literature that one is led to wonder how any one man, and especially one burdened with so many cares and who has not made public speaking a profession, could compass so much in a lifetime.

Though Mr. Depew has not, until late years, filled any important national position, he is probably better known, both at home and abroad, than many men of world-wide reputation. With a few exceptions, he is the best-known American living to-day, and his yearly visits to Europe have made his personality familiar to almost everybody, from crowned heads to the common people. His goings and comings are chronicled everywhere, and he is always met, on either side of the Atlantic, by reporters from the newspapers anxious to describe his appearance, the details of his costume, his destination and engagements, and to get his opinion on every conceivable subject whether of politics, business, society, or recreation. This is partly because of his accessibility, for, unlike most prominent men of affairs, he does not hedge himself in with impenetrable dignity, but is as ready to welcome the employees as the directors of his company; and partly because of the kindness of heart that prompts such accessibility and makes

him a friend of every reporter that comes to him for "copy." This renders him an inexhaustible subject for the paragrapher and the photographer, while his name and his face are as familiar to everyone as household words. He is read about in every newspaper, is seen in cartoons in *Punch* and in *Vanity Fair*, sometimes posed in a Gladstonian attitude from a suggestion of his resemblance to the great statesman, and, after a season of social successes, in which he has perhaps hob-nobbed with royalty, receives from Lord Rosebery, on sailing for home, a telegram saying: "Your departure eclipses the gayety of nations."

Mr. Depew's orations and addresses are virtually a history of the past half century; and not only a mere record of events, but a political, industrial, commercial, educational, and social picture of the period in which he has been one of the most conspicuous figures. He has taken part in every presidential election since 1856, when fresh from college he made his maiden speech for the Pathfinder, and in every important political contest not only in his own State but also in other States where the need of his party called him; he has too borne a chief part in the councils of his party, has been on intimate terms with every President since Buchanan and with almost every contemporary man of prominence, and has himself, on several occasions, borne the standard of his party to victory. He has been even more prominent in our industrial and commercial history, bearing through many laborious years the burden of the greatest railway system of this or of any other country, building up its interests, adding to its capabilities, and enlarging its scope, until it became, under his management, the most important and wealthiest transportation corporation of the world. We must not forget, too, to note that he has found time also to edit a series of the great orations of the world in twenty-four volumes, and a massive work entitled "One Hundred Years of American Commerce," a series of articles illustrating the progress of our country during the century. And through all the years of a busy life, full of laborious duties that would have broken down most men, he has never lost sight of his interest in education, the heritage of his years at Yale, keeping pace with its growth and its needs, and aiding in the construction of its future. His numerous educational addresses, which fill a volume, covering almost every phase of the subject, delivered before law schools, medical schools, and other branches of the

curriculum, are almost an education in themselves, though he never poses as a teacher, combining the best of advice and the most practical of suggestions inspired by his successful career.

Notwithstanding these varied responsibilities, Mr. Depew has always found time for the social duties and requirements made necessary by his position and by the immense acquaintance which it has entailed. Probably no other American has had a larger or better social connection, whether in this country or in Europe, and no other has ever found a warmer welcome in the salon or at the dinner table. His genial personality, his wide range of experience and of observation, his ripe scholarship and trained intellectual force, his conversation that flows without effort, his quick sense of humor, and his scintillant wit make his presence at the banquet table almost a necessity. He possesses in perfection that rarest of gifts—the talent of being ever ready to respond to a toast or sentiment—and no matter how brilliant the entertainment or how distinguished the other guests may be, a banquet without his presence is like the play of Hamlet with *Hamlet* left out.

During all his business and political engagements and his social successes "Our Chauncey," as he is familiarly called, has always been true to Alma Mater Yale and to the Class of '56, which he has so materially helped to win its sobriquet of "famous." He has been present at most of the Class Reunions, and when obliged by untoward circumstances to absent himself has sent expressions of regard which were appreciated and reciprocated by his classmates. At our fiftieth anniversary, when illness prevented his attendance, his absence was universally regretted and a telegram of condolence expressing the sympathy of the Class was sent to him.

Mr. Depew received his A.M. in course and in 1887, when he delivered the annual address to the Yale Law School, was given the honorary degree of LL.D. In the following year he was elected a member of the Yale Corporation, a position which he held by reelection until 1906.

In 1898, after thirteen years of arduous service as President of the New York Central and its allied railroads, Mr. Depew resigned, and in 1899 he was elected a member of the United States Senate in succession to Edward Murphy, Jr., Democrat. In 1905 he was reelected for the term ending in 1911. It is

almost needless to say that in his long service in the Senate he has won the praise not only of his native State but of the Nation for his ability and his grasp of the great questions of the day. He has served on important committees, has taken part in all the great debates, making speeches that have won the attention of the Senate and of the country, and has reached a position where he is an honor to the great State which he so well and so ably represents.

An old Senator said to the writer, "Senator Depew is distinguished in the Senate for making speeches in which the question discussed is put so lucidly and entertainingly that they are in general demand from Senators and Members of Congress for distribution in the various States and among their constituents. His speech on the tariff, which was an illuminating history and discussion of that question on general lines, differed from others because they are devoted mainly to schedules. Several millions of copies of this speech have been distributed and the demand seems to be continuous. He is more successful than almost anyone in either House in getting bills passed relating to his State. As a member of the Committee on Commerce, he has succeeded in securing every appropriation that has been asked for, and they amount to enormous sums, for the Harbor of New York, the Hudson River improvement, the barge canal, and the ports on the Great Lakes within the boundaries of the State of New York.

When New York City wanted between three and four millions of dollars for another post office, uptown, it encountered such general hostility from places all over the country that had only one post office building or none, that it failed in the House and was rejected by the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate. Before offering it upon the floor, Senator Depew canvassed the Senators individually, all of whom wished to oblige him in any matter in which he was deeply interested. Senator Allison, the Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, said he would agree to it if the Democrats would assent. The Democrats, through their leader, Senator Gorman, had announced their opposition to all appropriations other than those in the bill, and to many that were in the bill. Mr. Depew was on very cordial terms with Senator Gorman, the Democratic leader, and he said he would agree to it if Senator Allison would assent, believing

that to be improbable. When Mr. Depew proposed the amendment, Senator Allison said nothing but looked at Gorman and Gorman said nothing but looked at Allison and the appropriation went into the bill.

Efforts had been made for a half century for Government liability to its employees for injuries in the service similar to the law governing corporations. It had always failed. President Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, put the matter in the hands of Senator Depew. In the last hour of the closing session he created parliamentary conditions where this bill had the right of way and must be either killed or passed to permit the large mass of necessary acts to pass. A quick appeal and vote and the bill went to the President and became a law.

As Mr. Depew is still in the plenitude of his powers, physically, mentally, and intellectually, every good citizen will pray that he may long be spared to represent the Empire State and its interests, and that no political exigency may be invented to retire him from a position which he has so honored and adorned.

JOHN D. CHAMPLIN.

ORATIONS AND MEMORIAL
ADDRESSES

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION

ORATION ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, ON THE SITE OF FEDERAL HALL,¹ NEW YORK, APRIL 30, 1889.

WE celebrate to-day the Centenary of our Nationality. One hundred years ago the United States began their existence. The powers of government were assumed by the people of the Republic, and they became the sole source of authority. The solemn ceremonial of the first inauguration, the reverent oath of Washington, the acclaim of the multitude greeting their President, marked the most unique event of modern times in the development of free institutions.

The occasion was not an accident, but a result. It was the culmination of the working out by mighty forces through many centuries of the problem of self-government. It was not the triumph of a system, the application of a theory, or the reduction to practice of the abstractions of philosophy. The time, the country, the heredity and environment of the people, and the folly of its enemies, and the noble courage of its friends, gave to liberty, after ages of defeat, of trial, of experiment, of partial success and substantial gains, this immortal victory. Henceforth it had a refuge and recruiting station. The oppressed found free homes in this favored land, and invisible armies marched from it by mail and telegraph, by speech and song, by precept and example, to regenerate the world.

Puritans in New England, Dutchmen in New York, Catholics in Maryland, Huguenots in South Carolina, had felt the fires of persecution and were wedded to religious liberty. They had been purified in the furnace, and in high debate and on bloody battle-

¹Federal Hall stood on the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, facing Broad Street, the site of the present U. S. Sub-Treasury. It was torn down in 1812.—*Ed.*

fields had learned to sacrifice all material interests and to peril their lives for human rights. The principles of constitutional government had been impressed upon them by hundreds of years of struggle, and for each principle they could point to the grave of an ancestor whose death attested the ferocity of the fight and the value of the concession wrung from arbitrary power. They knew the limitations of authority; they could pledge their lives and fortunes to resist encroachments upon their rights; but it required the lesson of Indian massacres, the invasion of the armies of France from Canada, the tyranny of the British Crown, the seven years' war of the Revolution, and the five years of chaos of the Confederation, to evolve the idea, upon which rest the power and permanency of the Republic, that liberty and union are one and inseparable.

The traditions and experience of the colonists had made them alert to discover, and quick to resist, any peril to their liberties. Above all things, they feared and distrusted power. The town meeting and the colonial legislature gave them confidence in themselves, and courage to check the royal governors. Their interests, hopes, and affections were in their several commonwealths, and each blow by the British Ministry at their freedom, each attack upon their rights as Englishmen, weakened their love for the Motherland and intensified their hostility to the Crown. But the same causes which broke down their allegiance to the Central Government increased their confidence in their respective colonies, and their faith in liberty was largely dependent upon the maintenance of the sovereignty of their several States. The farmers' shot at Lexington echoed round the world; the spirit which it awakened from its slumbers could do and dare and die, but it had not yet discovered the secret of the permanence and progress of free institutions. Patrick Henry thundered in the Virginia convention; James Otis spoke with trumpet tongue and fervid eloquence for united action in Massachusetts; Hamilton, Jay, and Clinton pledged New York to respond with men and money for the common cause; but their vision saw only a league of independent colonies. The veil was not yet drawn from before the vista of population and power, of empire and liberty, which would open with National Union.

The Continental Congress partially grasped, but completely expressed, the central idea of the American Republic. More

fully than any other that ever assembled did it represent the victories won from arbitrary power for human rights. In the New World it was the conservator of liberties secured through centuries of struggle in the Old. Among the delegates were the descendants of men who had stood in the brilliant array upon the field of Runnymede, who wrested from King John Magna Charta, that great charter of liberty, to which Hallam, in the nineteenth century, bears witness "that all which has been since obtained is little more than a confirmation or commentary." There were the grandchildren of the statesmen who had summoned Charles before Parliament and compelled his assent to the Petition of Rights which transferred power from the Crown to the Commons, and gave representative government to the English-speaking race. And there were those who had sprung from the iron soldiers who had fought and charged with Cromwell at Naseby and Dunbar and Marston Moor. Among its members were Huguenots, whose fathers had followed the White Plume of Henry of Navarre, and in an age of bigotry, intolerance, and the deification of absolutism, had secured the great edict of religious liberty from French despotism, and who had become a people without a country rather than surrender their convictions and forswear their consciences. In this Congress were those whose ancestors were the countrymen of William of Orange, the Beggars of the Sea, who had survived the cruelties of Alva and broken the yoke of proud Philip of Spain, and who had two centuries before made a declaration of independence and formed a federal union which were models of freedom and strength.

These men were not revolutionists, they were the heirs and the guardians of the priceless treasures of mankind. The British King and his Ministers were the revolutionists. They were reactionaries, seeking arbitrarily to turn back the hands on the dial of time. A year of doubt and debate, the baptism of blood upon the battle-fields, where soldiers from every colony fought under a common standard and consolidated the Continental Army, gradually lifted the soul and understanding of this immortal Congress to the sublime declaration: "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish

and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

To this Declaration John Hancock, proscribed and threatened with death, affixed a signature which has stood for a century like the pointers to the North Star in the firmament of freedom, and Charles Carroll, taunted that, among many Carrolls, he, the richest man in America, might escape, added description and identification with "of Carrollton." Benjamin Harrison, a delegate from Virginia, the ancestor of the distinguished statesman and soldier who to-day so worthily fills the chair of Washington, voiced the unalterable determination and defiance of the Congress. He seized John Hancock, upon whose head a price was set, in his arms, and placing him in the presidential chair, said: "We will show Mother Britain how little we care for her, by making our President a Massachusetts man whom she has excluded from pardon by public proclamation"; and when they were signing the Declaration, and the slender Elbridge Gerry uttered the grim pleasantry, "We must hang together, or surely we will hang separately," the portly Harrison responded with the more daring humor, "It will be all over with me in a moment; but you will be kicking in the air half an hour after I am gone." Thus flashed athwart the great Charter, which was to be for its signers a death-warrant or a diploma of immortality, as with firm hand, high purpose, and undaunted resolution, they subscribed their names, this mockery of fear and the penalties of treason.

The grand central idea of the Declaration of Independence was the sovereignty of the People. It relied for original power, not upon States or Colonies, or their citizens as such, but recognized as the authority for nationality the revolutionary rights of the people of the United States. It stated with marvelous clearness the encroachments upon liberties which threatened their suppression and justified revolt, but it was inspired by the very genius of freedom and the prophetic possibilities of united commonwealths covering the continent in one harmonious republic, when it made the people of the thirteen colonies all Americans, and devolved upon them to administer by themselves and for themselves the prerogatives and powers wrested from Crown and Parliament. It condensed Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, the great body of English liberties embodied in the common law and accumulated in the decisions of the courts, the statutes of

the realm, and an undisputed though unwritten Constitution; but this original principle and dynamic force of the people's power sprang from these old seeds planted in the virgin soil of the New World.

More clearly than any other statesman of the period did Thomas Jefferson grasp and divine the possibilities of popular government. He caught and crystallized the spirit of free institutions. His philosophical mind was singularly free from the power of precedents or the chains of prejudice. He had an unquestioning and abiding faith in the people, which was accepted by but few of his compatriots. Upon his famous axiom, of the equality of all men before the law, he constructed his system. It was the trip-hammer essential for the emergency to break the links binding the colonies to imperial authority, and to pulverize the privileges of caste. It inspired him to write the Declaration of Independence, and persuaded him to doubt the wisdom of the powers concentrated in the Constitution. In his passionate love of liberty he became intensely jealous of authority. He destroyed the substance of royal prerogative, but never emerged from its shadow. He would have the States as the guardians of popular rights, and the barriers against centralization, and he saw in the growing power of the nation ever-increasing encroachments upon the rights of the people. For the success of the pure democracy which must precede presidents and cabinets and congresses, it was perhaps providential that its apostle never believed a great people could grant and still retain, could give and at will reclaim, could delegate and yet firmly hold, the authority which ultimately created the power of their Republic and enlarged the scope of their own liberty.

Where this master-mind halted, all stood still. The necessity for a permanent union was apparent; but each State must have hold upon the bowstring which encircled its throat. It was admitted that union gave the machinery required to fight successfully the common enemy; but yet there was fear that it might become a Frankenstein² and destroy its creators. Thus patriotism and fear, difficulties of communication between distant communities, and the intense growth of provincial pride and interests, led

²The failure of Mrs. Shelley to give a name to the soulless monster, created by the student Frankenstein out of human fragments collected from graveyards and dissecting rooms, has led to this misuse of Frankenstein's name, which is common but unjustifiable.—*Ed.*

this Congress to frame the Articles of Confederation, happily termed the League of Friendship. The result was not a government, but a ghost. By this scheme the American people were ignored and the Declaration of Independence reversed. The States, by their legislatures, elected delegates to Congress, and the delegate represented the sovereignty of his commonwealth.

All the States had an equal voice without regard to their size or population. It required the vote of nine States to pass any bill, and five could block the wheels of Government. Congress had none of the powers essential to sovereignty. It could neither levy taxes nor impose duties nor collect excise. For the support of the army and navy, for the purposes of war, for the preservation of its own functions, it could only call upon the States, but it possessed no power to enforce its demands. It had no president or executive authority, no supreme court with general jurisdiction, and no national power. Each of the thirteen States had seaports and levied discriminating duties against the others, and could also tax and thus prohibit interstate commerce across its territory. Had the Confederation been a Union instead of a League, it could have raised and equipped three times the number of men contributed by reluctant States, and conquered independence without foreign assistance. This paralyzed Government—without strength, because it could not enforce its decrees; without credit, because it could pledge nothing for the payment of its debts; without respect, because without inherent authority it would, by its feeble life and early death, have added another to the historic tragedies which have in many lands marked the suppression of freedom, had it not been saved by the intelligent, inherited, and invincible understanding of liberty by the people, and the genius and patriotism of their leaders.

But while the perils of war had given temporary strength to the Confederation, peace developed its fatal weakness. It derived no authority from the people, and could not appeal to them. Anarchy threatened its existence at home, and contempt met its representatives abroad.

"Can you fulfil or enforce the obligations of the treaty on your part if we sign one with you?" was the sneer of the courts of the Old World to our ambassadors. Some States gave a half-hearted support to its demands; others defied them. The loss of public credit was speedily followed by universal bankruptcy.

The wildest phantasies assumed the force of serious measures for the relief of the general distress. States passed exclusive and hostile laws against each other, and riot and disorder threatened the disintegration of society. "Our stock is stolen, our houses are plundered, our farms are raided," cried a delegate in the Massachusetts convention; "despotism is better than anarchy!" To raise four millions of dollars a year was beyond the resources of the Government, and three hundred thousand was the limit of the loan it could secure from the money-lenders of Europe. Even Washington exclaimed in despair: "I see one head gradually changing into thirteen; I see one army gradually branching into thirteen; which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power, are considering themselves as depending on their respective States." And later, when independence had been won, the impotency of the Government wrung from him the exclamation: "After gloriously and successfully contending against the usurpation of Great Britain, we may fall a prey to our own folly and disputes."

But even through this Cimmerian darkness shot a flame which illumined the coming century, and kept bright the beacon-fires of liberty. The architects of constitutional freedom formed their institutions with wisdom which forecasted the future. They may not have understood at first the whole truth; but, for that which they knew, they had the martyrs' spirit and the crusaders' enthusiasm. Though the Confederation was a government of checks without balances, and of purpose without power, the statesmen who guided it demonstrated often the resistless force of great souls animated by the purest patriotism; and, united in judgment and effort to promote the common good, sought by lofty appeals and high reasoning to elevate the masses above local greed and apparent self-interest to their own broad plane.

The most significant triumph of these moral and intellectual forces was that which secured the assent of the States to the limitation of their boundaries, to the grant of the wilderness beyond them to the General Government, and to the insertion in the ordinance erecting the Northwest Territory of the immortal proviso prohibiting "slavery or involuntary servitude" within all that broad domain. The States carved out of this splendid concession were not sovereignties which had successfully rebelled, but were the children of the Union, born of the covenant and thrilled with

its life and liberty. They became the bulwarks of nationality and the buttresses of freedom. Their preponderating strength first checked and then broke the slave power; their fervid loyalty halted and held at bay the spirit of State rights and secession for generations; and when the crisis came, it was with their overwhelming assistance that the nation killed and buried its enemy. The corner-stone of the edifice whose centenary we are celebrating was the Ordinance of 1787. It was constructed by the feeblest of congresses, but few enactments of ancient or modern times have had more far-reaching and beneficent influence. It is one of the sublimest paradoxes of history, that this weak Confederation of States should have wedded the chain against which, after seventy-four years of fretful efforts for release, its own spirit frantically dashed and died.

The government of the Republic by a Congress of States, a diplomatic convention of the ambassadors of petty commonwealths, after seven years' trial, was falling asunder. Threatened with civil war among its members, insurrection and lawlessness rife within the States, foreign commerce ruined and internal trade paralyzed, its currency worthless, its merchants bankrupt, its farms mortgaged, its markets closed, its labor unemployed, it was like a helpless wreck upon the ocean, tossed about by the tides and ready to be engulfed in the storm. Washington gave the warning and called for action. It was a voice accustomed to command, but not to entreat. The veterans of the war and the statesmen of the Revolution stepped to the front. The patriotism which had been misled, but had never faltered, rose above the interests of the States and the jealousies of jarring confederates to find the basis for union. "It is clear to me as A B C," said Washington, "that an extension of federal powers would make us one of the most happy, wealthy, respectable, and powerful nations that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe. Without them we shall soon be everything which is the direct reverse. I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step." The response of the country was the Convention of 1787, at Philadelphia. The Declaration of Independence was but the vestibule of the temple which this illustrious assembly erected. With no successful precedents to guide, it auspiciously worked out the problem of constitutional government, and of imperial power and home rule supplementing

each other in promoting the grandeur of the nation and preserving the liberty of the individual.

The deliberations of great councils have vitally affected, at different periods, the history of the world and the fate of empires ; but this Congress builded, upon popular sovereignty, institutions broad enough to embrace the continent, and elastic enough to fit all conditions of race and traditions. The experience of a hundred years has demonstrated for us the perfection of the work for defense against foreign foes, and for self-preservation against domestic insurrection, for limitless expansion in population and material development, and for steady growth in intellectual freedom and force. Its continuing influence upon the welfare and destiny of the human race can be measured only by the capacity of man to cultivate and enjoy the boundless opportunities of liberty and law. The eloquent characterization of Mr. Gladstone condenses its merits: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The statesmen who composed this great senate were equal to their trust. Their conclusions were the result of calm debate and wise concession. Their character and abilities were so pure and great as to command the confidence of the country for the reversal of the policy of the independence of the State of the power of the General Government, which had hitherto been the invariable practice and almost universal opinion, and for the adoption of the idea of the nation and its supremacy.

Towering in majesty and influence above them all stood Washington, their President. Beside him was the venerable Franklin, who, though eighty-one years of age, brought to the deliberations of the Convention the unimpaired vigor and resources of the wisest brain, the most hopeful philosophy, and the largest experience of the times. Oliver Ellsworth, afterward Chief-Justice of the United States, and the profoundest jurist in the country ; Robert Morris, the wonderful financier of the Revolution, and Gouverneur Morris, the most versatile genius of his period ; Roger Sherman, one of the most eminent of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and John Rutledge, Rufus King, Elbridge Gerry, Edmund Randolph, and the Pinckneys, were leaders of unequalled patriotism, courage, ability, and learning ; while Alexander Hamilton and James Madison,

as original thinkers and constructive statesmen, rank among the immortal few whose opinions have for ages guided ministers of state and determined the destinies of nations.

This great Convention keenly felt, and with devout and serene intelligence met, its tremendous responsibilities. It had the moral support of the few whose aspirations for liberty had been inspired or renewed by the triumph of the American Revolution, and the active hostility of every government in the world.

There were no examples to follow, and the experience of its members led part of them to lean toward absolute centralization as the only refuge from the anarchy of the Confederation, while the rest clung to the sovereignty of the States, for fear that the concentration of power would end in the absorption of liberty. The large States did not want to surrender the advantage of their position, and the smaller States saw the danger to their existence. The Leagues of the Greek cities had ended in loss of freedom, tyranny, conquest, and destruction. Roman conquest and assimilation had strewn the shores of time with the wrecks of empires, and plunged civilization into the perils and horrors of the Dark Ages. The government of Cromwell was the isolated power of the mightiest man of his age, without popular authority to fill his place or the hereditary principle to protect his successor.

The past furnished no light for our state-builders; the present was full of doubt and despair. The future, the experiment of self-government, the perpetuity and development of freedom, almost the destiny of mankind, was in their hands.

At this crisis the courage and confidence needed to originate a system weakened. The temporizing spirit of compromise seized the Convention, with the alluring proposition of not proceeding faster than the people could be educated to follow. The cry, "Let us not waste our labor upon conclusions which will not be adopted, but amend and adjourn," was assuming startling unanimity. But the supreme force and majestic sense of Washington brought the assemblage to the lofty plane of its duty and opportunity. He said: "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hands of God." "I am the State," said Louis

XIV., but his line ended in the grave of absolutism. "Forty centuries look down upon you," was Napoleon's address to his army, in the shadow of the Pyramids; but his soldiers saw the dream of Eastern Empire vanish in blood. Statesmen and parliamentary leaders have sunk into oblivion, or led their party to defeat, by surrendering their convictions to the passing passions of the hour; but Washington, in this immortal speech, struck the keynote of representative obligation, and propounded the fundamental principle of the purity and perpetuity of constitutional government.

Freed from the limitations of its environment, and the question of the adoption of its work, the Convention erected its government upon the eternal foundations of the power of the people. It dismissed the delusive theory of a compact between independent States, and derived national power from the people of the United States. It broke up the machinery of the Confederation, and put in practical operation the glittering generalities of the Declaration of Independence. From chaos came order, from insecurity came safety, from disintegration and civil war came law and liberty, with the principle proclaimed in the preamble of the great charter: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States." With a wisdom inspired by God, to work out upon this continent the liberty of man, they solved the problem of the ages by blending, and yet preserving, local self-government with national authority, and the rights of the States with the majesty and power of the Republic. The government of the States, under the Articles of the Confederation, became bankrupt because it could not raise four millions of dollars; the government of the Union, under the Constitution of the United States, raised six thousand millions of dollars, its credit growing firmer as its power and resources were demonstrated. The Congress of the Confederation fled from a regiment, which it could not pay; the Congress of the Union reviewed the comrades of a million of its victorious soldiers, saluting as they marched the flag of the nation whose supremacy they had sustained. The

promises of the Confederacy were the scoff of its States; the pledge of the Republic was the honor of its people.

The Constitution, which was to be strengthened by the strain of a century, to be a mighty conqueror without a subject province, to survive triumphantly the greatest of civil wars without the confiscation of an estate or the execution of a political offender, to create and grant home rule and State sovereignty to twenty-nine additional commonwealths, and yet enlarge its scope and broaden its power, and to make the name of an American citizen a title of honor throughout the world, came complete from the great Convention to the people for adoption. As Hancock rose from his seat in the old Congress, eleven years before, to sign the Declaration of Independence, Franklin saw emblazoned on the back of the President's chair the sun partly above the horizon, but it seemed setting in a blood-red sky. During the seven years of the Confederation he had gathered no hope from the glittering emblem, but now as with clear vision he beheld fixed upon eternal foundations the enduring structure of constitutional liberty, pointing to the sign, he forgot his eighty-two years, and, with the enthusiasm of youth, electrified the Convention with the declaration: "Now I know that it is the rising sun."

The pride of the States and the ambition of their leaders, sectional jealousies and the overwhelming distrust of centralized power, were all arrayed against the adoption of the Constitution. North Carolina and Rhode Island refused to join the Union until long after Washington's inauguration. For months New York was debatable ground. Her territory, extending from the sea to the lakes, made her the keystone of the arch. Had Arnold's treason in the Revolution not been foiled by the capture of André, England would have held New York and subjugated the colonies; and in this crisis, unless New York assented, a hostile and powerful commonwealth dividing the States would have made the Union impossible.

Success was due to confidence in Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson was the inspiration of Independence, but Hamilton was the incarnation of the Constitution. In no age or country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton's. At seventeen he annihilated the President of his college, upon the question of rights of the colonies, in a series of anonymous articles which were credi-

ted to the ablest men in the country; at forty-seven, when he died, his briefs had become the law of the land, and his fiscal system was, and after a hundred years remains, the rule and policy of our Government. He gave life to the corpse of national credit, and the strength for self-preservation and aggressive power to the Federal Union. Both as an expounder of the principles and an administrator of the affairs of the Government he stands supreme and unrivaled in American history. His eloquence was so magnetic, his language so clear, and his reasoning so irresistible, that he swayed with equal ease popular assemblies, grave senates, and learned judges. He captured the people of the whole country for the Constitution by his papers in *The Federalist*, and conquered the hostile majority in the New York Convention by the splendor of his oratory.

But the multitudes whom no argument could convince, who saw in the executive power and centralized force of the Constitution, under another name, the dreaded usurpation of king and ministry, were satisfied only with the assurance, "Washington will be President." "Good," cried John Lamb, the able leader of the Sons of Liberty, as he dropped his opposition; "for to no other mortal would I trust authority so enormous." "Washington will be President," was the battle-cry of the Constitution. It quieted alarm, and gave confidence to the timid and courage to the weak.

The country responded with enthusiastic unanimity, but the Chief with the greatest reluctance. In the supreme moment of victory, when the world expected him to follow the precedents of the past, and perpetuate the power a grateful country would willingly have left in his hands, he had resigned and retired to Mount Vernon to enjoy in private station his well-earned rest. The Convention created by his exertions to prevent, as he said, "the decline of our federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire," had called him to preside over its deliberations. Its work made possible the realization of his hope that "we might survive as an independent republic," and again he sought the seclusion of his home. But after the triumph of war, and the formation of the Constitution, came the third and final crisis; the initial movements of government which were to teach the infant state the steadier steps of empire.

He alone could stay assault and inspire confidence while the

great and complicated machinery of organized government was put in order and set in motion. Doubt existed nowhere except in his modest and unambitious heart. "My movements to the chair of government," he said, "will be accompanied with feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution. So unwilling am I, in the evening of life, nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm." His whole life had been spent in repeated sacrifices for his country's welfare, and he did not hesitate now, though there is an undertone of inexpressible sadness in this entry in his diary on the night of his departure:

"About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

No conqueror was ever accorded such a triumph, no ruler ever received such a welcome. In this memorable march of six days to the Capitol, it was the pride of States to accompany him with the masses of their people to their borders, that the citizens of the next commonwealth might escort him through its territory. It was the glory of cities to receive him with every civic honor at their gates, and entertain him as the saviour of their liberties. He rode under triumphal arches from which children lowered laurel wreaths upon his brow. The roadways were strewn with flowers, and as they were crushed beneath his horse's hoofs, their sweet incense wafted to Heaven the ever-ascending prayers of his loving countrymen for his life and safety. The swelling anthem of gratitude and reverence greeted and followed him along the country-side and through the crowded streets: "Long live George Washington! Long live the Father of his People!"

His entry into New York was worthy the city and State. He was met by the chief officers of the retiring Government of the country, by the Governor of the commonwealth, and the whole population. This superb harbor was alive with fleets and flags; and the ships of other nations, with salutes from their guns, and the cheers of their crews, added to the joyous acclaim. But as

the captains, who had asked the privilege of rowing the President's barge, bent proudly to their oars as they passed swiftly through these inspiring scenes, Washington's mind and heart were full of reminiscence and foreboding. He had visited New York thirty-three years before, also in the month of April, in the full perfection of his early manhood, fresh from Braddock's bloody field, and wearing the only laurels of the battle, bearing the prophetic blessing of the venerable President Davies, of Princeton College, as "That heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to the country." It was a fair daughter of our State,³ whose smiles allured him here, and whose coy confession that her heart was another's recorded his only failure and saddened his departure.

Twenty years later he stood before the New York Congress, on this very spot, the chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, urging the people to more vigorous measures, and made painfully aware of the increased desperation of the struggle from the aid to be given to the enemy by domestic sympathizers, when he knew that the same local military company which escorted him was to perform the like service for the British Governor Tryon on his landing on the morrow. Returning for the defense of the city the next summer, he executed the retreat from Long Island, which secured from Frederick the Great the opinion that a great commander had appeared, and at Harlem Heights won the first American victory of the Revolution, which gave that confidence to our raw recruits against the famous veterans of Europe that carried our army triumphantly through the war. Six years more of untold sufferings, of freezing and starving camps, of marches over the snow by barefooted soldiers to heroic attack and splendid victory, of despair with an unpaid army, and of hope from the generous assistance of France, and peace had come and Independence triumphed. As the last soldier of the invading enemy embarks, Washington at the head of the patriot host enters the city, receives the welcome and gratitude of its people, and in the tavern which faces us across the way, in silence more eloquent than speech, and with

³Mary Philipse, daughter of Frederick Philipse, who married in 1758, Major Roger Morris. He built for her the house now called the Jumel Mansion, which was Washington's headquarters in 1776. As the Morrisses were loyalists their property was confiscated and they returned to England.—Ed.

tears which choke the words, he bids farewell forever to his companions in arms. Such were the crowding memories of the past suggested to Washington in 1789 by his approach to New York. But the future had none of the splendor of precedent and brilliance of promise which have since attended the inauguration of our Presidents. An untried scheme, adopted mainly because its administration was to be confided to him, was to be put in practice. He knew that he was to be met at every step of constitutional progress by factions temporarily hushed into unanimity by the terrific force of the tidal wave which was bearing him to the President's seat, but fiercely hostile upon questions affecting every power of nationality and the existence of the Federal Government.

Washington was never dramatic, but on great occasions he not only rose to the full ideal of the event, he became himself the event. One hundred years ago to-day the procession of foreign ambassadors, of statesmen and generals, of civic societies and military companies, which escorted him, marched from Franklin Square to Pearl Street, through Pearl to Broad to this spot; but the people saw only Washington. As he stood upon the steps of the old Government Building here, the thought must have occurred to him that it was a cradle of liberty, and as such giving a bright omen for the future.

In these halls, in 1735, in the trial of John Zenger, had been established, for the first time in its history, the liberty of the press. Here the New York Assembly, in 1764, made the protest against the Stamp Act, and proposed the General Conference, which was the beginning of the united colonial action. In this old State House, in 1765, the Stamp Act Congress—the first and the father of American congresses—assembled and presented to the English Government that vigorous protest which caused the repeal of the Act, and checked the first step toward the usurpation which lost the American Colonies to the British Empire. Within these walls the Congress of the Confederation had commissioned its ambassadors abroad, and in ineffectual efforts at government had created the necessity for the concentration of federal authority, now to be consummated.

The first Congress of the United States, gathered in this ancient temple of liberty, greeted Washington and accompanied him to the balcony. The famous men visible about him were

Chancellor Livingston, Vice-President John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Governor Clinton, Roger Sherman, Richard Henry Lee, General Knox, and Baron Steuben. But we believe that among the invisible host above him at this supreme moment of the culmination in permanent triumph of the thousands of years of struggle for self-government, were the spirits of soldiers of the Revolution who had died that their countrymen might enjoy this blessed day, and with them were the Barons of Runnymede, and William the Silent, and Sidney, and Russell, and Cromwell, and Hampden, and the heroes and martyrs of liberty of every race and age.

As he came forward, the multitude in the streets, in the windows, and on the roofs sent up such a rapturous shout that Washington sat down overcome with emotion. As he slowly rose, and his tall and majestic form again appeared, the people, deeply affected, in awed silence viewed the scene. The Chancellor solemnly read to him the oath of office, and Washington, repeating, said: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Then he reverently bent low and kissed the Bible, uttering with profound emotion, "So help me, God." The Chancellor waved his robes and shouted: "It is done. Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" "Long live George Washington, our first President!" was the answering cheer of the people, and from the belfries rang the bells, and from forts and ships thundered the cannon, echoing and repeating the cry with responding acclaim all over the land: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

The simple and imposing ceremony over, the inaugural read, the blessing of God prayerfully petitioned in old St. Paul's, the festivities passed: and Washington stood alone. No one else could take the helm of State, and enthusiast and doubter alike trusted only him. The teachings and habits of the past had educated the people to faith in the independence of their States; and for the supreme authority of the new Government there stood, against the precedent of a century and the passions of the hour, little besides the arguments of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in *The Federalist*, and the judgment of Washington.

With the first attempt to exercise national power began the

duel to the death between State Sovereignty, claiming the right to nullify federal laws or secede from the Union, and the power of the Republic to command the resources of the country, to enforce its authority, and protect its life. It was the beginning of the sixty years' war for the Constitution and the Nation. It seared consciences, degraded politics, destroyed parties, ruined statesmen, and retarded the advance and development of the country; it sacrificed hundreds of thousands of precious lives, and squandered thousands of millions of money; it desolated the fairest portion of the land and carried mourning into every home North and South; but it ended at Appomattox in the absolute triumph of the Republic.

Posterity owes to Washington's Administration the policy and measures, the force and direction which made possible this glorious result. In giving the organization of the Department of State and Foreign Relations to Jefferson, the Treasury to Hamilton, and the Supreme Court to Jay, he selected for his Cabinet and called to his assistance the ablest and most eminent men of his time. Hamilton's marvelous versatility and genius designed the armory and the weapons for the promotion of national power and greatness, but Washington's steady support carried them through. Parties crystallized, and party passions were intense, debates were intemperate, and the Union openly threatened and secretly plotted against, as the firm pressure of this mighty personality funded the debt and established credit; assumed the State debts incurred in the War of the Revolution, and superseded the local by the national obligation; imposed duties upon imports and excise upon spirits, and created revenue and resources; organized a National Banking System for public needs and private business, and called out an army to put down by force of arms resistance to the federal laws imposing unpopular taxes. Upon the plan marked out by the Constitution, this great architect, with unflinching faith and unfaltering courage, builded the Republic. He gave to the Government the principles of action and sources of power which carried it successfully through the wars with Great Britain in 1812 and Mexico in 1848, which enabled Jackson to defeat nullification, and recruited and equipped millions of men for Lincoln, and justified and sustained his Proclamation of Emancipation.

The French Revolution was the bloody reality of France and

the nightmare of the civilized world. The tyranny of centuries culminated in frightful reprisals and reckless revenges. As parties rose to power and passed to the guillotine, the frenzy of the revolt against all authority reached every country and captured the imaginations and enthusiasm of millions in every land, who believed they saw that the madness of anarchy, the overturning of all institutions, the confiscation and distribution of property, would end in a millennium for the masses and the universal brotherhood of man. Enthusiasm for France, our late ally, and the terrible commercial and industrial distress occasioned by the failure of the Government under the Articles of Confederation, aroused an almost unanimous cry for the young Republic, not yet sure of its existence, to plunge into the vortex. The ablest and purest statesmen of the time bent to the storm, but Washington was unmoved. He stood like the rock-ribbed coast of a continent between the surging billows of fanaticism and the child of his love. Order is Heaven's first law, and the mind of Washington was order. The Revolution defied God and derided the law. Washington devoutly revered the Deity, and believed liberty impossible without law. He spoke to the sober judgment of the nation and made clear the danger. He saved the infant Government from ruin, and expelled the French Minister who had appealed from him to the people. The whole land, seeing safety only in his continuance in office, joined Jefferson in urging him to accept a second term. "North and South," pleaded the Secretary, "will hang together while they have you to hang to."

No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union: Washington embodied them all. They fell at times under popular disapproval, were burned in effigy, were stoned; but he with unerring judgment was always the leader of the people. Milton said of Cromwell, that "war made him great, peace greater." The superiority of Washington's character and genius was more conspicuous in the formation of our Government and in putting it on indestructible foundations, than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. "The Union in any event," is the central thought of his Farewell Address; and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation. He fought as a youth

with Braddock and in the capture of Fort Du Quesne for the protection of the whole country. As Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, his commission was from the Congress of the United Colonies. He inspired the movement for the Republic, was the President and dominant spirit of the Convention which framed its Constitution, and its President for eight years, and guided its course until satisfied that, moving safely along the broad highway of time, it would be surely ascending toward the first place among the nations of the world, the asylum of the oppressed, the home of the free.

Do his countrymen exaggerate his virtues? Listen to Guizot, the historian of civilization: "Washington did the two greatest things which in politics it is permitted to man to attempt. He maintained by peace the independence of his country which he conquered by war. He founded a free government in the name of the principles of order and by re-establishing their sway" Hear Lord Erskine, the most famous of English advocates: "You are the only being for whom I have an awful reverence." Remember the tribute of Charles James Fox, the greatest parliamentary orator who ever swayed the British House of Commons: "Illustrious man, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance." Contemplate the character of Lord Brougham, pre-eminent for two generations in every department of human activity and thought, and then impress upon the memories of your children his deliberate judgment: "Until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

Chatham, who, with Clive, conquered an empire in the East, died broken-hearted at the loss of the empire in the West, by follies which even his power and eloquence could not prevent. Pitt saw the vast creations of his diplomacy shattered at Austerlitz, and fell murmuring: "My country! how I leave my country!" Napoleon caused a noble tribute to Washington to be read at the head of his armies; but, unable to rise to Washington's greatness, witnessed the vast structure erected by conquest and cemented by blood, to minister to his own ambition and pride, crumble into fragments and, an exile and a prisoner, breathed his last babbling of battle-fields and carnage. Washington, with his finger upon his pulse, felt the presence of death, and

calmly reviewing the past and forecasting the future, answered to the summons of the grim messenger, "It is well"; and as his mighty soul ascended to God, the land was deluged with tears and the world united in his eulogy. Blot out from the page of history the names of all the great actors of his time in the drama of nations, and preserve the name of Washington, and still the century would be renowned.

We stand to-day upon the dividing line between the first and second century of constitutional government. There are no clouds overhead, and no convulsions under our feet. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past, and with confident and hopeful promise march upon sure ground toward the future. The simple facts of these hundred years paralyze the imagination, and we contemplate the vast accumulations of the century with awe and pride. Our population has grown from four to sixty-five millions. Its center moving westward five hundred miles since 1789, is eloquent with the founding of cities and the birth of States. New settlements, clearing the forests and subduing the prairies, and adding four millions to the few thousands of farms which were the support of Washington's Republic, create one of the great granaries of the world and open exhaustless reservoirs of national wealth.

The infant industries, which the first act of our Administration sought to encourage, now give remunerative employment to more people than inhabited the Republic at the beginning of Washington's Presidency. The grand total of their annual output of seven thousand millions of dollars in value places the United States first among the manufacturing countries of the earth. One-half of all the railroads, and one-quarter of all the telegraph lines of the world within our borders, testify to the volume, variety, and value of an internal commerce which makes these States, if need be, independent and self-supporting. These hundred years of development under favoring political conditions have brought the sum of our national wealth to a figure which is past the results of a thousand years for the Motherland, herself otherwise the richest of modern empires.

During this generation a civil war of unequalled magnitude caused the expenditure of eight thousand millions of dollars, and the loss in killed of six hundred thousand and in permanent disablement of more than a million young men; and yet the im-

petuous progress of the North and the marvelous industrial development of the new and free South have obliterated the evidences of destruction and made the war a memory, and have stimulated production until our annual surplus nearly equals that of England, France, and Germany combined. The teeming millions of Asia till the patient soil and work the shuttle and loom as their fathers have done for ages; modern Europe has felt the influence and received the benefit of the incalculable multiplication of force by inventive genius since the Napoleonic wars; and yet, only two hundred and sixty-nine years after the little band of Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, our people, numbering less than one-fifteenth of the inhabitants of the globe, do one-third of its mining, one-fourth of its manufacturing, one-fifth of its agriculture, and own one-sixth of its wealth.

This realism of material prosperity, surpassing the wildest creation of the romancers who have astonished and delighted mankind, would be full of danger for the present and menace for the future, if the virtue, intelligence, and independence of the people were not equal to the wise regulation of its uses and the stern prevention of its abuses. But following the growth and power of the great factors, whose aggregation of capital made possible the tremendous pace of the settlement of our national domain, the building of our great cities and the opening of the lines of communication which have unified our country and created our resources, have come national and state legislation and supervision. Twenty millions—a vast majority of our people of intelligent age—acknowledging the authority of their several churches, twelve millions of children in the common schools, three hundred and forty-five universities and colleges for the higher education of men and two hundred for women, four hundred and fifty institutions of learning for science, law, medicine, and theology, are the despair of the scoffer and the demagogue, and the firm support of civilization and liberty.

Steam and electricity have not only changed the commerce, but have also revolutionized the governments of the world. They have given to the press its powers and brought all races and nationalities into touch and sympathy. They have tested and are trying the strength of all systems to stand the strain and conform to the conditions which follow the germinating influences of American democracy. At the time of the inauguration of

Washington, seven royal families ruled as many kingdoms in Italy, but six of them have seen their thrones overturned and their countries disappear from the map of Europe. Most of the kings, princes, dukes, and margraves of Germany, who reigned despotically and sold their soldiers for foreign service, have passed into history, and their heirs have neither prerogatives nor domain. Spain has gone through many violent changes, and the permanency of her present government seems to depend upon the feeble life of an infant prince. France, our ancient friend, with repeated and bloody revolutions, has tried the government of Bourbon and Convention, of Directory and Consulate, of Empire and Citizen King, of hereditary Sovereign and Republic, of Empire, and again Republic. The Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern, after convulsions which have rocked the foundations of their thrones, have been compelled to concede constitutions for their people, and to divide with them the arbitrary power wielded so autocratically and brilliantly by Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great. The royal will of George III. could crowd the American colonies into rebellion, and wage war upon them until they were lost to his kingdom; but the authority of the Crown has devolved upon ministers who hold office subject to the approval of the representatives of the people, and the equal powers of the House of Lords have become vested in the Commons, leaving to the Peers only the shadow of their ancient privileges. But to-day the American people, after all the dazzling developments of the century, are still happily living under the Government of Washington. The Constitution during all that period has been amended only upon the lines laid down in the original instrument, and in conformity with the recorded opinions of the Fathers. The first great addition was the incorporation of a Bill of Rights, and the last the embedding into the Constitution of the immortal principle of the Declaration of Independence—of the equality of all men before the law. No crisis has been too perilous for its powers, no evolution too rapid for its adaptation, and no expansion beyond its easy grasp and administration. It has assimilated diverse nationalities with warring traditions, customs, conditions, and languages, imbued them with its spirit, and won their passionate loyalty and love.

The flower of the youth of the nations of Continental Europe are conscripted from productive industries and drilling in camps.

Vast armies stand in battle array along the frontiers, and a Kaiser's whim or a Minister's mistake may precipitate the most destructive war of modern times. Both monarchical and republican governments are seeking safety in the repression and suppression of opposition and criticism. The volcanic forces of democratic aspiration and socialistic revolt are rapidly increasing and threaten peace and security. We turn from these gathering storms to the British Isles and find their people in the throes of a political crisis involving the form and substance of their Government, and their statesmen far from confident that the enfranchised and unprepared masses will wisely use their power.

But for us no army exhausts our resources nor consumes our youth. Our navy must needs increase in order that the protecting flag may follow the expanding commerce which is to compete successfully in all the markets of the world. The sun of our destiny is still rising, and its rays illumine vast territories as yet unoccupied and undeveloped, which are to be the happy homes of millions of people. The questions which affect the powers of government and the expansion or limitation of the authority of the Federal Constitution are so completely settled, and so unanimously approved, that our political divisions produce only the healthy antagonism of parties which is necessary for the preservation of liberty. Our institutions furnish the full equipment of shield and spear for the battles of freedom; and absolute protection against every danger that threatens the welfare of the people will always be found in the intelligence which appreciates their value, and the courage and morality with which their powers are exercised. The spirit of Washington fills the executive office. Presidents may not rise to the full measure of his greatness, but they must not fall below his standard of public duty and obligation. His life and character, conscientiously studied and thoroughly understood by coming generations, will be for them a liberal education for private life and public station, for citizenship and patriotism, for love and devotion to Union and liberty. With their inspiring past and splendid present, the people of these United States, heirs of a hundred years marvelously rich in all that adds to the glory and greatness of a nation, with an abiding trust in the stability and elasticity of their Constitution, and an abounding faith in themselves, hail the coming century with hope and joy.

POLITICAL MISSION OF UNITED STATES

ORATION ON THE POLITICAL MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES, AT
THE CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON, BY
THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 22, 1888.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: The subject assigned to me falls more naturally into the domain of the philosophical theorist, or of the practical politician, than of the active man of affairs. We are all men of business, and absorbed in its details, and neither our time nor our associations admit of prolonged speculations upon the possibilities of government. We are an industrial people, and the great question with us is, How do institutions best serve our needs? We are not so wholly materialistic that we cannot deeply feel the sentiments of liberty and nationality, and yet both form the broad foundation upon which we must build for permanence. No intelligent consideration of the question affecting our present and future is possible without an understanding of the successive stages in the development of our system.

The political mission of the United States has so far been wrought out by individuals and territorial conditions. Four men of unequalled genius have dominated our century, and the growth of the West has revolutionized the Republic. The principles which have heretofore controlled the policy of the country have mainly owed their force and acceptance to Hamilton, Jefferson, Webster, and Lincoln.

The two great creative contests of America were purely defensive. They were neither the struggles of dynastic ambitions nor of democratic revenges. They were calm and determined efforts for good government, and closed without rancor or the husbanding of resources for retaliation. The Revolution was a war for the preservation of well-defined constitutional liberties, but dependent upon them were the industrial freedom necessary for the development of the country, the promotion of manufactures, and independence of foreign producers.

The first question which met the young confederacy, torn

by the jealousies of its stronger and weaker colonies, was the necessity of a central power strong enough to deal with foreign nations and to protect commerce between the States. At this period Alexander Hamilton became the saviour of the Republic. If Shakespeare is the commanding originating genius of England, and Goethe of Germany, Hamilton must occupy that place among Americans. At seventeen he had formulated the principles of government by the people so clearly that no succeeding publicist has improved them. Before he was twenty-five he had made suggestions to the hopeless financiers of the Revolution which revived credit and carried through the war. With few precedents to guide him, he created a fiscal system for the United States which was so elastic and comprehensive that it still controls the vast operations of the treasury and the customs. Though but a few years at the Bar after his retirement from public life, his briefs are embodied in Constitution and statutes, and to his masterly address the press owes its freedom. This superb intelligence, at once philosophic and practical, and which could instruct with unrivaled lucidity the dullest mind on the bearing of the action of the present on the destiny of the future, so impressed upon his contemporaries the necessity of a central Government with large powers that the Constitution, now one hundred and one years old, was adopted, and the United States began their life as a nation.

At this period, in every part of the world, the doctrine that the Government is the source of power, and that the people have only such rights as the Government had given, was practically unquestioned; but the young Republic began its existence with the new and dynamic principle that the people are the sole source of authority, and that the Government has such powers as they grant to it, and no others.

Doubt and debate are the safety-valves of freedom, and Thomas Jefferson created both. He feared the loss of popular rights in centralization, and believed that the reserved powers of the States were the only guarantee of the liberties of the people. He stands supreme in our history as a political leader, and left no successor. He destroyed the party of Washington, Hamilton, and Adams, and build up an organization which was dominant in the country for half a century. The one question thus raised and overshadowing all others for a hundred years, half

satisfied by compromises, half suppressed by threats, at times checking prosperity, at times paralyzing progress, at times producing panics, at times preventing the solution of fiscal and industrial problems vital to our expansion, was: Are we a Nation?

For nearly fifty years the prevailing sentiment favored the idea that the federal compact was a contract between sovereign States. Had the forces of disunion been ready for the arbitrament of arms, the results would have been fatal to the Union. That ablest observer of the American experiment, De Tocqueville, was so impressed by this that he based upon it an absolute prediction of the destruction of the Republic. But, at the critical period, when the popularity, courage, and audacity of General Jackson were almost the sole hope of nationality, Webster delivered in the Senate a speech unequalled in the annals of eloquence for its immediate effects and lasting results. The appeals of Demosthenes to the Athenian democracy, the denunciations of Cicero against the conspiracies of Catiline, the passionate outcry of Mirabeau pending the French Revolution, the warnings of Chatham in the British Parliament, the fervor of Patrick Henry for independence, were of temporary interest, and yielded feeble results, compared with the tremendous consequences of this mighty utterance.

It broke the spell of supreme loyalty to the State and created an unquenchable and resistless patriotism for the United States. It appeared in the schoolbooks, and, by declaiming glowing extracts therefrom, the juvenile orators of that and succeeding generations won prizes at academic exhibitions and in mimic congresses. Children educated parents, and the pride of the fathers and the kindled imaginations of the sons united them in a noble ideal of the great Republic. No subsequent patriotic oration met the requirements of any public occasion, great or small, which did not breathe the sentiment of "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." As the coldest clod, when first inspired by the grand passion of his life, becomes a chivalric knight, so, when at last the Union was assailed by arms, love of country burst the bonds of materialism and sacrificed everything for the preservation of the nation's life. From the unassailable conviction of the power of the General Government to protect itself, to coerce a State, to enforce its laws everywhere, and to use all the resources of the people to put down rebellion,

came not only patriotism but public conscience. With conscience was the courage, so rare in commercial communities, which will peril business and apparent prosperity for an idea. This defeated the slave power, and is to-day the most potent factor in every reform.

The field for the growth and development of this sentiment, and for its practical application without fear of consequences, was the Great West. Virginia's gift to the Union of the Northwest Territory, which now constitutes five great States, and its prompt dedication to freedom, and Jefferson's purchase from the First Napoleon of the vast area now known as Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Mississippi, Nebraska, Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and the Indian Territory, were the two acts of generosity and consummate statesmanship which definitely outlined the destiny of the Republic and its political mission.

In the genesis of nations there is no parallel with the growth of the West and its influence upon the world. The processes of its settlement reduce to comparative insignificance the romances and realities of the state-builders of the past. Movements of peoples which at other periods have been devastating migrations, or due to the delirium of speculations, are here the wise founding and sober development of prosperous communities.

The fabled *Argo*, sailing for the Golden Fleece, neither bore nor found the wealth carried and discovered by the emigrants' wagons on the prairies. The original conditions surrounding our hardy and adventurous pioneers; the riches in poverty, where hope inspired the efforts, and the self-denial to clear, or develop, or improve, or stock the farm, which was to be at once the family home and estate; the church and the school-house growing simultaneously with the settlements; citizenship of the great Republic, which could only come through the admission of the territory as a State into the grand confederacy of commonwealths, and only be lost by the dissolution of the Union; citizenship, which meant not only political dignity and independence, but incalculable commercial and business advantages and opportunities—these were the elements which made the West, and these were the educators of the dominant power in the nation for the present and the future. Thus the West, the child of the Union, met the slave power with determined resistance, and its threats with a

defiant assertion of the inherent powers of the Nation, and with the pledge of its young and heroic life for their enforcement. This double sentiment found its oracle and representative in Abraham Lincoln. He consolidated the Northwest by declaring that the Mississippi should flow unvexed to the sea. In the great debate with Douglas, his challenge rang through the whole land, a summons to battle. "A house divided against itself," he said, "cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided." To enforce that expectation he called a million men to arms, he emancipated four millions of slaves by Presidential proclamation, and when the victory was won for liberty and unity, this most majestic figure of our time, clothed with the unlimited powers of a triumphant Government, stood between the passions of the strife, and commanded peace and forgiveness. When he fell by the hand of the assassin the hundred years' struggle for national existence was ended. He throttled sectionalism and buried it. The Republic for which half a million men had died and a million had been wounded was so firmly bedded in the hearts, the minds, and the blood of its people, that the question of dissolution will never more form part of the schemes of its politicians or require the wisdom of its statesmen and the patriotism of its people.

It is impossible to estimate the effect upon our material and moral development of the disappearance of the dread and deadly issue of dissolution and civil war from our politics. The Nation, emancipated from the thralldom of perpetual peril, advanced by leaps and bounds in its fiscal policy and industrial progress. Our substantial growth in every element of national strength since the war, has been greater than in all the years that preceded it. But the very conditions of this tremendous development, and the mighty forces concentrated and involved, present grave problems, which must be solved if we would be safe. Said De Tocqueville, in 1834: "I cannot believe in the duration of a government whose task is to hold together forty different peoples, spread over a surface equal to the half of Europe, to avoid rivalries, ambitions, and struggles among them, and to unite the action of their independent wills for the accomplishment of the same plans. Unless I am greatly mistaken, the Federal Government

of the United States tends to become daily weaker ; it draws back from one kind of business after another ; it more and more restricts the sphere of its action. Naturally feeble, it abandons even the appearance of force."

With the admission of the Territories already knocking at the door and fully qualified to become States, we will have reached De Tocqueville's fatal forty. But in the mean time the pendulum of our politics has swung back from the Jeffersonian to the Hamiltonian extreme. The Federal Government is everything, the States in a national sense nothing. The abolition of slavery, and with it sectional lines, and the Civil War, have done much to produce this ; but commerce has done more.

The application of steam and electricity to trade has made forty commonwealths one. It is not distance alone that creates the dangers of the disintegration of a government, but difficulty of intercommunication. Sixty millions of people covering a continent are in much closer communion to-day than were the four millions along the Atlantic coast at the adoption of the Constitution. The President, whose authority De Tocqueville thought weak and gradually being reduced to a shadow, has acquired power beyond the dreams and fears of the fathers. The arbitrary arrests, the proclamations of far-reaching imports at which Mr. Lincoln did not hesitate, indicate what a President may do in time of war. A civil service four times as large as our standing army, and subject to executive appointment and removal, and the frequent exercise of the veto power by President Cleveland, exhibit the extent of his powers, even in peace.

The United States has been fortunate in its Presidents. The poorest and weakest of them had patriotism and a sense of public duty which prevented the resort to desperate expedients for the retention of power. But as the country increases in population and in new communities, the functions of the Executive become more potent. The legislative and judicial branches remain the same, but the President grows as a potential factor of Government. We are always at the mercy of the majority, but its intelligence has heretofore protected us from its easily stated and possible peril. But with a hundred millions of people and a commensurate civil service ; with the blind fury of intense political passions ; with an able, audacious, and unscrupulous President,

anxious for re-election, and sustained by his party in anything which secures it, the situation will be full of danger.

The best of Presidents have lowered the standard of administration when seeking a second term. The present Executive is an officer highly esteemed for singular honesty and directness of purpose, and remarkable for inexperience in the duties of Government and for ignorance of the great issues before the country. With perfect frankness and honest intention to carry out his pledges he defied the traditions of his party in his bold utterances for Civil Service Reform. He both understood what he was promising, and believed he had the courage and the power to make good his word. The best sentiment of the country is overwhelmingly behind him on this question. And yet, as the canvass of 1888 opens, the tremendous advantage of an auxiliary force of one hundred thousand faithful workers has relegated Roman virtue to the rear and brought the spoils system to the front. Methods have changed, and the borrowed nomenclature of Reform means the old practices, with the familiar result of the constant substitution of the partisan recruit for the veteran official.

With the growth of the Republic, the known and implied powers of the President become of increasing value. As, with larger and more populous districts, Congress becomes more distant and vague, the people will need and demand an executive to whom appeal can be immediate, and whose responsibility is direct. He should be made, however, by constitutional prohibition, ineligible for a second term. As the peculiarities of his position on retirement from office prevent his participation in the ordinary business avocations of the citizen, he should receive an adequate pension for life, and on the retired list, though still in the service, be subject to call for any public duty where his experience, character, and ability would be of value. Thus his administration, free from temptation and the baser ambitions, would be impelled with resolute and unflinching endeavor to win the plaudits of the present and the admiration and gratitude of posterity.

While no act or thought should tend to resurrect the baleful doctrine of State Sovereignty, we need to be educated in the direction of State Rights. The immensity of our nationality and its centralizing tendencies create a feeling of dependence upon Government which enfeebles the American character and is hostile

to American liberty. Home rule is the school and inspiration of manliness and independence. The town meeting brings power directly to the people, where it belongs, and clearly and sharply draws the line between public business and private business. The American traveling in Europe chafes under the restraints of administration. The bayonet or the baton is always by his side. The Government carries his person and goods, transmits his message, appears as a proprietor in the mine and factory, and suffocates enterprise, development, and ambition. The demagogue and the agitator are already appealing to the sentiment for a strong government; to make it so strong that it will both impoverish and enrich with its burdens and its bounties, while the citizen, surrendering his individuality, will go for everything to the Government. This is the underlying principle of despotism, under whose operation there would have been no great Republic, and the West would have remained a wilderness.

We are too great and too generous, and have too many and vast opportunities, to adopt the selfish motto of "America for Americans,"—meaning to include only those who are now citizens and their descendants. But the needs of the present and the preparation for the future require that all citizens shall be Americans. Healthy patriotism can be sentimental, but it must be intelligent. Said the philosopher: "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who make their laws." That day has passed, never to return. Steam and electricity have broken the spell. Revolutions can no longer be conjured, nor ancient rights defended, by melody. The marching music of the columns of liberty must be, not the Marseillaise or the national anthem, but the high and harmonious teachings of the common school.

There is an intellectual awakening in this land, and its stimulants affect the well-being and the safety of life, and property, and law. The trades-union is a debating club; a session of the knights, a congress of labor; the Sabbath picnic is a school, not of divinity, but of theology. The questions discussed are vital in their proper solution to the State, Society, and the Church. The churches of all creeds, and men of every faith, are doing magnificent work in the conservation of the virtues and habits of liberty, but the Preacher has lost his political influence and the Priest much of the power he possessed in the more primitive period.

The teachers of disintegration, destruction, and infidelity possess the activity of propagandists and the self-sacrificing spirit of martyrs. Their field is ignorance, their recruiting sergeant is distress. Only faith grounded in knowledge can meet these dangerous, ceaseless, and corrupting influences. In the midst of the perils, the sheet-anchor of the Ship of State is the common school. Before the era of great cities and crowded populations, when it was easy both to earn a living and to gain a competence, when the best influences of every settlement reached every part of it, the State met every requirement in furnishing, free, a fair business education. But now by far the larger part of our people have no common ancestry in the Revolutionary War, and a generation has come to its majority which knows little of the Rebellion and its results. Colonists from Europe form communities, both in city and country, where they retain the language, customs, and traditions of the Fatherland, and live and die in the belief that the Government is their enemy. To meet these conditions the State provides an education which does not educate, and the prison and the poorhouse.

Ignorance judges the invisible by the visible. Turn on the lights. Teach, first and last, Americanism. Let no youth leave the school without being thoroughly grounded in the history, the principles, and the incalculable blessings of American liberty. Let the boys be the trained soldiers of constitutional freedom, the girls the intelligent mothers of freemen, and the sons of the anarchists will become the bulwarks of the law. American liberty must be protected against hostile invasion.

We welcome the fugitives from oppression, civil or religious, who seek our asylum with the honest purpose of making it their homes. We have room and hospitality for emigrants who come to our shores to better their condition by the adoption of our citizenship, with all its duties and responsibilities. But we have no place for imported criminals, paupers, and pests. The revolutionist who wants to destroy the power of the majority with the same dynamite with which he failed to assassinate the Emperor or the Czar is a public enemy, and must be so treated. We are no longer in need of the surplus population of the Old World, and must carefully examine our guests. The priceless gift of citizenship should never be conferred until by years of probation the applicant has proved himself worthy, and then a rigid examina-

tion in open court should test his knowledge of its limitations as well as its privileges, and his cordial acceptance of both. It is monstrous that the time of our courts and the patience of our juries should be occupied and tried in the repeated prosecution of persistent disturbers of the peace who refuse to become citizens. On the first conviction by a jury they should be expelled from the country.

This youngest of cities, destined to be one of the greatest on the earth, in deadly peril of fire and sack, with indomitable spirit and lofty courage saved civilization in American municipalities, and the nation by wise laws should prevent any possible recurrence of the danger. In government by majorities, the existence of the system depends upon the purity of the ballot. The minority must know that it is fairly beaten, to accept peacefully its defeat. A crisis more critical than the Civil War has twice threatened us, because there was doubt as to the honesty of the vote. In the first instance it was averted by wise compromise; and in the second the fears proved fallacious. But it is the highest duty to provide every safeguard against repetitions of such dangers. The whole power and machinery of the State must be used for the unbought and unintimidated vote and the fair count. Submission to the will of the majority has become universally the accepted faith of the people; and while that faith is unshaken no party will ever appeal to the only other alternative, arms.

It is the duty of the General Government in all elections for Congress or President to protect, at every cost, the voter and the ballot-box. It is the duty of every State to reduce to a minimum the opportunities for fraud upon the citizen or the improper influencing of his choice. It is a general and local scandal that the expenses of the candidate have grown beyond the means of the poor and honest man. No system can be right or safe under which the treasuries of the opposing parties must be filled with sums so vast that they equal the great accumulations of prosperous corporations. The ballot should be printed by the State and distributed at the public cost, under conditions which would enable the most ignorant voter to select his ticket without help, and deposit it with no one knowing its contents but himself. Then as the Republic grows in power and population, its safety and perpetuity will be assured by keeping pure the channels through

which the ever-increasing millions of freemen with more majestic and impressive force express their will.

The political mission of the United States is purely internal. The wise policy and traditions of Washington against entangling alliances with foreign nations have been happily strengthened by our geographical position. The moral effect of our experiment upon the destinies of peoples and governments has been greater than that of all other causes combined. In preserving in letter and spirit our liberties, in developing our resources and adding to the wealth, prosperity, and power of the Republic, in the adoption of those measures which favor happiness and contentment within our borders, we are indirectly aiding the struggling masses, and furnishing the arguments for, and inspiring the hopes of, the patriots of every country of the world.

It is vital to the success of our mission that all questions be boldly met, fearlessly discussed, and promptly acted upon. The area of arable acres in the United States is 20 per cent. larger than that of China, which supports a population of nearly four hundred millions. As time is reckoned in the history of nations, in the near future there will be two hundred millions of people in this country. All of them will be dependent upon industrial conditions, and the larger part of them will be wage-earners. Our problem is not, How can they be controlled? For they are the majority, and the majority is the Government; but, How are they to be satisfied? Macaulay's prediction has been supported by the ablest political economists of the Old World. They claim that with the conditions of crowded populations always on the brink of starvation, with hopeless poverty and chronic distress such as prevail under European governments, the Republic will end in anarchy and anarchy in despotism.

Whether there be much or little in these gloomy forebodings, the least of them sternly impresses the lesson of maintaining and promoting, by every measure which experience has tested and wisdom can suggest, that policy which will keep wages above the line of mere subsistence, and in the general prosperity of diversified industries hold open the opportunities for every man to rise. This issue is broadly national, and is of equal interest to the North and South, the East and West. Cheap transportation has obliterated the lines which formerly divided the planters and the manufacturers and engendered and embittered the sectional con-

troversies. The New South thrills with the movement of mighty industries which are developing her mines, utilizing her great forces and resources, and founding her cities; the flames of busy furnaces illumine her wasted fields, and near and quick markets awoken to hitherto unknown activities her dormant agriculture. The hum of the spindles and the inspiring music of machinery sound over the prairies and along the lakes as well as among New England hills and Pennsylvania mines.

The theory of the wealth of nations has been discussed by the ablest and most competent of philosophers and statesmen, from the time of Adam Smith, with the demonstrated result that principles of political economy are not of universal application, but must be modified by the conditions and necessities of different nations. At the zenith of prosperity, when confidence and credit were projecting enterprises which covered the continent, and were fraught with untold wealth and healthy expansion, or disaster and collapse upon a scale of equal magnitude and commensurate distress, President Cleveland has boldly and happily challenged the policy upon which all these investments were based.

The President says to the combined forces of Capital and Labor, flushed with past successes and eager for the conquest of the world: "Halt! you are on the wrong road." Business is built upon stability of statutes. Fluctuations in the law must not be a factor in the calculations of commerce. It is fortunate for the future of the country that the President has taken a position so radical and defiant that discussion and decision are imperative. If the result is as I think it will and ought to be—the defeat of the President and of his party—he will take his place among the few eminent specialists and experimentalists who have died in demonstrating that the gun was not loaded.

During a quarter of a century of passionate nationality, of free labor, of protected industries, the growth of the Republic has been without precedent or parallel in ancient or modern times. Its population has increased at the rate of a million a year, and a thousand millions per annum have been added to its accumulated wealth. It has paid five-sixths of the enormous losses of the Civil War; it has borne the burden of a gigantic debt; it has spent with lavish hand, and yet has saved half as much as all the rest of the world. With sixty thousand millions of capital, and a developed capacity for creating a product worth over ten

billions a year, its political mission is, as far as possible, to monopolize its home market in the materials it possesses or can manufacture, to cross the seas, to enter all ports and explore new countries, and to compete with the most advanced nations in all the markets of the earth.

Ninety-nine years ago, on the fourth day of July, 1789, George Washington signed the first tariff act passed by the young Republic. Political independence had been proclaimed by the immortal Declaration of 1776, but the country was still dependent upon Great Britain for every article of manufacture in metals or fabrics. With more gloomy forebodings than those caused by the separation of the Empire was this news received in England. It was the emancipation of raw materials and the birth of manufactures in the United States, and without them the Republic had no "manifest destiny." At the close of an exhausting war, with an unpaid, half-clothed, and riotous army, a worthless currency, shattered credit, and an empty treasury, Alexander Hamilton, great in every department of mental activity, but the greatest of finance ministers, was called upon to provide the moneys for carrying on the Government, meeting its obligations, and restoring its credit. In a report whose arguments have never been answered or equaled, he gave, as a solution of the present problem and a future prosperity, protection to home industries as a continuous policy, and when necessary, bounties and premiums besides. The closing year of the century of Hamilton's idea finds thirteen States grown to thirty-eight, four millions of people increased to sixty, and nominal national wealth to sixty billions. A manufacturing plant not worth half a million of dollars has expanded until its annual product is six thousand millions, and the consumption per year by our own people of the output of our farms and our factories is not less than five times the consolidated capital of 1789. From an increasing indebtedness to foreign nations, which drained all our resources, the returning tide of the balance of trade is flowing in enriching currents through every artery of our industrial life. Upon this golden monument, with a hundred millions of surplus in the national treasury, and proud and prosperous populations all round, the culminating century finds President Cleveland proclaiming with equal boldness, if less originality, the new departure.

The celebration of the birthday of the Father of his Country

recalls at this juncture the peculiar significance of the language of the law which received his first signature as President, and which had his heartiest approval: "Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported." Since that most fruitful legislation, whenever theory has overcome the plain teachings of practice, the penalty has been panics and distress. "The friend of the many against the profits of the few," is the seductive *rôle* which captivates the free trader, and its glittering allurements on a subject new to his thought and studies have led out to sea the strong common-sense of Mr Cleveland. It is the basis of the policy upon which he has staked his own fortunes and those of his party. "The tariff raises the price to consumers," he says, "of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties"; and, as the consumers are enormously in excess of the laborers upon purely protected articles, he rushes naturally and triumphantly to the conclusion that tariff laws are "the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation."

In 1816, 1832, 1846, the weapons which the President found in 1888 won great victories, but like Samson's arms about the pillars of the Temple, the result involved all in common ruin. The mill closed, the furnace fires out, the farmer bankrupt, and the laborer a tramp, are the lurid lessons of these well-meant experiments upon a delusive theory of the relations of the factory to the farm.

The genius of our scheme of general government and the spirit of our people are hostile to direct taxation for national affairs. The federal tax-gatherer has always provoked friction and lawlessness, even under the necessities of war, and his presence at every door to levy and take three times the amount required by the State for home and local wants would peril both prosperity and loyalty. Two hundred and fifty millions of dollars flow into the national treasury annually, and under the customs system of collection we are unconscious of our burdens. It is only the necessities of war which justify internal revenue taxes, and only a concession to the moral sentiment of the country which permits the continuance of any part of them. No revenue laws are perfect or permanent, but in modifying them to meet

the changing conditions of the country the principle of ample protection for everything which can be successfully produced or manufactured on American soil must be maintained.

The factory doubles the value of the adjoining farms for the farmers, whose tariff exactions are too small to be calculated. Beside the mill grows the village, and the resistless energies of American development burst the village bounds and build the Western city. To this new mart the railroad is constructed almost with the speed of its moving trains, and the quick and cheap communication between country and city furnishes new solvents for the safety in the prosperity of the country. Protected opportunity has developed our incalculable natural resources and enabled us to manufacture in iron, glass, cotton, and wool as well as any nation in the world, and more cheaply, save only in wages. If the duty on importations is the bounty to labor which lifts it above the degrading and dangerous conditions of Europe, and enables our artisans to retain their self-respect and independence, it is the Republic's best investment.

Celebrating here to-day the one hundred and fifty-sixth anniversary of Washington's birth, and recalling the influence of his victories in war, his counsels in convention, his acts as President of the Republic, and his matchless character, the visible results of the policy inaugurated by the first exercise of his executive approval are the most marvelous. The purely agricultural States which formed his confederacy have become the foremost region of the world in the variety, the usefulness, and the volume of its manufactures, and the fertility of its inventive genius. Paying its labor fifty per cent. more than the rest of the world, it produces the food, the clothing, and the household effects which the laborer uses, cheaper than the older nations; and the surplus of wages flowing into the savings-banks is finally invested in homes, and in the multitude of homesteads is the greatest safety of Society and the State.

The United States is the granary, the workshop, the political hope of the world. It can largely feed, and in the interchanges of trade supply many other material wants of the peoples who are inspired by its successful liberty to strive for better government and nobler lives. Its vast network of railways, its lakes, rivers, and canals, carry a commerce of incalculable value, and its surplus above our home consumption is to be the growing element of

our national wealth. This grand product is freighted in foreign ships, and its carriers depend for their profit upon the enemies of the expansion of our commerce. I said to a representative of the new steamship line which is to make the link across the Pacific of the route from the East over the American Continent and to Europe—a route whose possibilities tax the imagination—"Why, instead of connecting with the Canadian Pacific and running through Canada, do you not meet our transcontinental system, making Chicago your *entrepôt* and distributing point for the West and New York for the East?" He answered: "Because we would lose our subsidy of three hundred thousand dollars a year from the British Government."

In that answer lay the secret of the disappearance of the American flag from the ocean. In the recognition of the necessity for a commercial nation meeting for its citizens the aid given by foreign governments, which is beyond the power of private enterprise, is the potency and promise of American trade with the world and of the old-time supremacy of America on the seas. The new conquest will give to us the commerce of South America, and wealth beyond the dreams of Pizarro and the Spanish victors. It will follow the opening of the African continent; it will share in the riches of India and the islands of the East; our shipyards will be the centers of fruitful industries along our coasts, and our navy once more our boast, our protection, and our pride.

Last summer Victoria, Queen of England and Empress of India, celebrated with imposing ceremonial the fiftieth anniversary of her reign. The world never witnessed a more glittering pageant, and no people in heralding and accompanying the procession with loyal enthusiasm and ringing acclaim ever viewed a half-century of retrospect with loftier pride. The Queen, as sovereign and woman, commanded their devotion, respect, and love, but nowhere in that splendid procession appeared the witness for the triumphs of the people which will be remembered as the chief glory of her reign. Subject princes from India, whose ancestors had faced Alexander of Macedon, and tributary sovereigns from Asia and Africa and the Islands of the Sea exhibited the conquests of English arms and the world-circling supremacy of the British flag. Representatives of the reigning houses of the monarchies of Europe testified to her royal lineage and inherited rights, and the medieval pomp and chivalry brought the

spirit of feudalism into vivid contrast with the glorious sunlight of the nineteenth century.

At the same time, in Philadelphia, the United States was celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the life of its Constitution. The most ancient and venerable relic of the past in its procession was the Declaration of Independence, emblazoning every banner with the motto: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; and next in order of age and sanctity was the Constitution, the charter of our Government, commencing with the immortal axiom of representative liberty: "We, the people of the United States." In our ceremonial were the mammoth printing-presses, the locomotive, the steamship, the steam-engine, the telegraph, trained lightning in its manifold forms of usefulness; the inventions and their marvelous and beneficent powers, the arts in their development and perfection; the schoolhouse and the university; the hardy pioneer, the retreating savage, the wilderness, the settlement, the farms and rich harvests, the village, the city with its magic growth and wondrous industries; and, pervading the pageant, the political ideal of man, panoplied with American liberty, and responsible and obedient only to God and the law.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

As the human race has moved along down the centuries, the vigorous and ambitious, the dissenters from blind obedience and the original thinkers, the colonists and state-builders, have broken camp with the morning, and followed the sun until the close of day. They have tarried for ages in fertile valleys and beside great streams; they have been retarded by barriers of mountains and seas beyond their present resources to overcome; but as the family grew into the tribe, the tribe into the nation, and equal authority into the despotism of courts and creeds, those who possessed the indomitable and unconquerable spirit of freedom have seen the promise flashed from the clouds in the glorious rays of the sinking orb of day, and first with despair and courage, and

then with courage and hope, and lastly with faith and prayer, they have marched Westward. In the purification and trials of wandering and settlement they have left behind narrow and degrading laws, traditions, customs, and castes, until now, as the Occident faces the Orient across the Pacific, and the globe is circled, at the last stop and in their permanent home the individual is the basis of government, and all men are equal before the law. The glorious example of the triumphant success of the people governing themselves fans the feeble spirit of the effete and exhausted Asiatic with the possibilities of the replanting of the Garden of Eden and of the restoration of the historic grandeur of the birthplace of mankind. It is putting behind every bayonet carried at the order of Bismarck or the Czar men who, in doing their own thinking, will one day decide for themselves the problems of peace and war. It will penetrate the breeding-places of Anarchy and Socialism, and cleanse and purify them.

The scenes of the fifth act of the grand drama are changing, with the world as its stage, and all races and tongues the audience. And yet, as it culminates in power, and grandeur, and absorbing interest, the attention remains riveted upon one majestic character. He stands the noblest leader who was ever intrusted with a country's life. His patience under provocation, his calmness in danger and lofty courage when all others despaired, his prudent delays when the Continental Congress was imperative and the Staff almost insubordinate, and his quick and resistless blows when action was possible, his magnanimity to his defamers and generosity to his foes, his ambition for his country and unselfishness for himself, his sole desire the freedom and independence of America, and his only wish to return after victory to private life and the peaceful pursuits and pleasures of home, have all combined to make him, by the unanimous judgment of the world, the foremost figure in history. Not so abnormally developed in any direction as to be called a genius, yet he was the strongest because the best balanced, the fullest rounded, the most even and most self-masterful of men—the incarnation of common sense and moral purity, of action and repose.

The Republic will live so long as it reveres the memory and emulates the virtues of George Washington.

HAMILTON'S STATUE

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF ALEXANDER
HAMILTON, IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 22,
1880.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The cosmopolitan spirit of our city is attested by the monuments erected in this park by the pride and patriotism of other nationalities and States to commemorate the men whose genius and works belong to them, but are equally honored by us. The time has long since passed, when to this glorious group should have been added the statue of New York's greatest gift to the Revolutionary period and the constitutional history of the Republic. The filial piety of a son performs the work, and we are here to honor the deed, and venerate the memory of his distinguished father.

Precocious intellects in all ages of the world have flashed with meteoric splendor, and for a brief space amazed mankind; but he only whose full-equipped mind knew no youth and never failed in the full maturity of its powers was Alexander Hamilton. At twelve years of age, a merchant's clerk, he writes: "I would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station." At thirteen he was the responsible head of a great commercial establishment, controlling the details of the counting-room, managing its ventures with distant countries, and maintaining its credit. At fifteen, he stands before the venerable President of Princeton College, with the bold proposition to be permitted to ascend through the classes as he mastered their courses, and to be graduated without regard to the years allotted by the rules, when he could pass an examination. The conservatism of Princeton rejects, and Columbia, then King's College, accepts the youthful student upon his own terms. With rare industry and application, with method and wisdom, he seeks every source of knowledge and rapidly absorbs and assimilates all the teachings of the schools.

But while he meditates in the groves of the Academy, the thunders of the mighty revolution which was shaking the conti-

ment disturb the quiet of the lecture-room. The protracted struggle of the colonists with the Mother Country for peaceful recognition of their rights was approaching a crisis. The tea had been thrown into Boston Harbor, and the retaliatory measures of the Home Government impressed upon the colonies the necessity of all uniting in the common defense. A great meeting was called in the fields by the patriots of this city. When the orators had closed their passionate appeals, a slender lad of seventeen ascended the platform. Curiosity soon gave place to admiration, and admiration to amazement and enthusiastic applause, as the boy proceeded. Calmly and clearly, with resistless reason and vivid imagery, he portrayed the origin of the difficulties, the rights guaranteed by their charters, by Magna Charta and the English Constitution, but above all the inalienable liberties of every people, and showed the possibilities of successful resistance by united effort. New York decided to send delegates to the Continental Congress, and Hamilton began that structure of American nationality, of which he was the main architect, and to whose perfection and perpetuity he devoted his life.

A resort to arms had not yet closed the forum, and to the discussion came the best trained, the ablest, the most eloquent men of New York, pleading the cause of England in pamphlets remarkable for their power, and which stayed the course and shook the judgment of the people. But the replies were so brilliant and overwhelming that they consolidated public sentiment for the cause of the people, and were ascribed to the foremost statesmen of the period; and upon the discovery of their author, Hamilton, at eighteen, was hailed by the whole country as the peer of the Adamses and of Jay. But when the multitude, smarting under wrongs and fired by the eloquence of their champion, sought riotous vengeance upon their enemies, he stayed the angry mob while the President of his college escaped, and offered to lead in defense of property and the majesty of the law. Popular passion never swayed his judgment; personal ambition, or the applause of the hour, never moved or deterred him. The same intuitive insight and foresight, which worked out for him his own course and position, recognized and protected the rights of his bitterest foes. Concord and Lexington closed the argument.

He saw the necessity and rightfulness of armed resistance, and, with clearest reasoning upon the character of the combatants

and the nature of the country, predicted its success. While others fought for terms, he from the beginning fought for independence. With the remnant of his little fortune he equipped a company, and the Board of Examining Officers, in admiration of his proficiency in the science of war, commissioned the stripling a Captain of Artillery, and complimented the discipline of his command. In an anonymous letter which he wrote to Washington he pointed out the dangers of the position on Long Island, and the warning was justified by the disastrous battle and retreat. His coolness and intrepidity at Harlem Heights attracted the notice and comment of the Commander-in-Chief, and his skill and bravery at White Plains stayed the onset of the veteran and victorious Hessians. In an age when commissions in the army were secured only by noble birth or by purchase, he struck the keynote of the inspiration of a volunteer force, by recommending promotion from the ranks with such vigor that his advice was adopted by Congress. During the gloomy retreat through New Jersey, a veteran officer noticed a company "which was a model of discipline; its Captain a mere boy, with small, slender, and delicate frame, who, with cocked hat pulled down over his eyes, and apparently lost in thought, marched beside a cannon, patting it every now and then as if it were a favorite horse or pet plaything," and was surprised when told it was the famous Hamilton. But the young officer held the British at bay while the American army crossed the Raritan, and at Princeton and Trenton his company won renown and left upon the field three-fourths of their number.

From the line, with its opportunities for distinction and promotion, the necessities of the Commander-in-Chief drafted Hamilton into his military family, and at twenty he became the confidential aide of Washington. How fortunate and providential was this conjunction! The reverence of the secretary for the majestic character, lofty patriotism, and full, rounded judgment of his chief, was reciprocated by the confidence and admiration of the chief for the genius, thoroughness, readiness, comprehensive knowledge, intuitive perception, and purity of his secretary. The one began, the other instantly grasped the conclusion. The brief statement of the one became the convincing argument of the other. The suggestive hint of the evening was presented for signature as the completed and unanswerable argument of the morning. Washington pointed the way, and Hamil-

ton cleared and paved the broad road upon which Congress, or the army, or the hesitating State, must travel. The responsibilities of the continent, in field and cabinet, rested upon Washington; but Hamilton grasped, assimilated, codified principles, and simplified details, so that in the vast and complicated system nothing was neglected or forgotten, and the friendship cemented and strengthened with years ended only in death. It was a fitting and picturesque close of the Revolutionary War that, when the combinations of Washington had hemmed in Cornwallis at Yorktown, Hamilton should lead the forlorn hope in the storming of the British redoubt, and, firing his soldiers to the charge by the memory of the massacre of their comrades at New London, in the heat and passion of victory grant mercy to the vanquished.

Independence left the Republic with but the shadow of a government. Congress possessed only advisory powers, and, in its inability to enforce its decrees upon the States, became an object of contempt at home and ridicule abroad. It was then that Hamilton brought forth his exhaustless resources to consolidate a nation. The first Convention proved a failure, but its address to the country, prepared by him, aroused the fears and stirred the patriotism of the people. The second Convention, presided over by Washington, numbered among its members the ablest men of the infant Republic. Hamilton presented for their deliberations a system complete in all its parts. He had seen the war for independence prolonged, and at times almost lost, by the failure of centralized authority and the jealousies of the States, and he proposed that the great empire, whose future was as clear to his vision as its reality is to ours, should recognize the federative principle in home and local affairs; but be clothed with powers to preserve the union of the States and command the respect of the world. State Sovereignty assailed the proposition in every part, but out of the discussion was saved the Constitution which has survived the storms of a century. Its preamble, written by him, "We, the People of the United States," was the foundation of his policy. An overwhelming majority of the New York Convention, led by her War Governor, George Clinton, opposed its ratification; but Hamilton, by resistless logic, impassioned eloquence, and lofty appeals to the pride and patriotism of its members, silenced opposition, quieted prejudices, and won the assent of our State to the great

compact; and, with rapturous applause, with processions and addresses, the people, whom he had educated by *The Federalist*, the press, and his speeches, to a desire for a common country, hailed him as the savior of the nation. Hamilton forged the links and welded the chain which binds the Union. He saw the dangers of secession, and pointed out the remedy against it in the implied powers of the Constitution. When Pennsylvania rebelled against the Excise Law, he said: "Let there be no temporizing, but crush the insurrection with such overwhelming force and display of power that it will never be repeated." Upon the foundation laid by Hamilton, Webster built his majestic structure of constitutional law, and the principles so established silenced nullification, vindicated the right of the Republic to protect its life by arms, and reconstructed the States.

This young soldier, whose life had passed in camps, dropped the practice of law at the moment when eminence and wealth were in his grasp, to obey the call of Washington, and at thirty-two became the first Secretary of the Treasury. The Republic was bankrupt and without credit, commerce was destroyed, trade paralyzed, agriculture neglected, and public distress and private poverty were the attendants of despair. He so constructed the Treasury Department that it has needed but little revision during ninety years. He created a system of finance which restored credit and sent the life-blood throbbing through every artery of the body politic. The demagogue cried: Pay the obligation of the Government at the nominal price for which it is offered in the market, and the misery of the unthinking echoed the cry; but this statesman said: "Let the letter and the spirit of the bond be met," and prosperity trod upon the heels of honesty. He alone knew the secrets whose publicity enriched multitudes, and yet he retired from office to earn a living. Upon the boundless sea of experiment without chart or compass, he invented both. He smote the sources of revenue with such skill and power, that from the barren rocks flowed the streams which filled the Treasury and the Sinking Fund, and the exhausted land was fertilized by its own productiveness.

Out of chaos he developed perfected schemes which have stood every strain and met every emergency in our national life. From his tent at Morristown he suggested to the bewildered Morris, who was seeking funds to sustain the Revolution, a plan

of a National Banking System which he completed as Secretary of the Treasury, and which, after many vicissitudes and with some modifications, has met the exigencies created by civil war, and is the basis upon which rests our whole structure of public and private business. He saw the necessity for manufactures, and the possibility of their creation and growth by judicious protection, and laid down the principles which succeeding statesmen and publicists have accepted, but never enlarged. When the orgies of the French Revolution maddened Europe and intoxicated America, and in the name of universal Republicanism France demanded an offensive and defensive alliance, he stemmed the popular current, prophesied that license would end in despotism, and established the great rule of neutrality which has been the guiding and protecting spirit of our foreign policy.

Having spent his patrimony in the war, the care of his family called for his best exertions. So great was the concentration of his industry and the comprehensiveness of his mind, that in three months he mastered the law, and entered at once upon a lucrative practice. So great was his public spirit that he abandoned it to perfect the Federal Constitution, resumed, and again left it to secure the ratification of that instrument; closed his books a third time when summoned by Washington into his Cabinet, and locked his office a fourth time to organize an army to resist threatened war and invasion of the country.

Amidst the universal prosperity created by his wisdom and measures, private needs compelled his resignation, and he entered upon the brief, but most brilliant, professional career in the illustrious history of the Bar in our State. With all-embracing genius, the most plodding lawyer was never better fortified with case and precedent. With tireless energy he traced principles back to their sources and forward to their conclusions. Enraptured juries were swayed by his eloquence, and admiring judges convinced by his arguments. He so settled the law of libel and the liberty of the press, that his brief became part of the constitutions of States and the statutes of England. The accused, who was too poor to retain and too humble to arouse the ambition of a lawyer, found both advocate and acquittal in Hamilton. The needy client, whose little patrimony and family he had saved, could pay no fee but grateful tears. That he was human and committed errors is the background which brings out in bolder

relief the simplicity and integrity of his character and the greatness of his mind. Talleyrand, walking up Garden Street in this city late at night, and seeing him at work in his office, said: "I have seen one of the wonders of the world. I have seen a man laboring all night to support his family, who has made the fortune of a nation." This great critic and cynic said: "I consider Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton the three greatest men of our epoch, and without hesitation I award the first place to Hamilton." To the objection that the others had dealt with greater masses and larger interests in Europe, Talleyrand replied: "But Hamilton divined Europe."

The period was rich in precocious intellects, but Hamilton's superiority was in strength of thought and vigor of expression, in the consistency and honesty of his convictions, the unselfishness of his purposes, and his marvelous versatility. He brushed aside prejudice and preconceived opinions, and from impregnable foundations his reasonings had the strength of inspiration and the spirit of prophecy. He dwelt upon the problem of internal commerce, and suggested the Erie Canal. He thought out a standing army, and founded West Point. He saw the necessity of popular education and the plain duty of the State, and perfected that grand and comprehensive system, free from sectarian control or influence, which is the pride of New York and has been a model of reform in foreign countries. The glory of our time is the emancipation of the slave, and yet he advised the arming and freeing of the blacks in the Revolutionary War as a measure of wisdom and philanthropy. When informed of the death of Washington, he burst into tears and fell into the arms of a friend, crying: "The Republic has lost its saviour and I a father." His last message was: "For God's sake, cease conversations and threatenings about a separation of the Union." His dying words were of forgiveness to his murderer and his enemies, and of a confident trust in salvation through the mercy of the Redeemer. The Republic, recovering from grief at the loss of Washington by the reflection that Hamilton lived in the meridian of his powers, was plunged into universal sorrow by his untimely end. But the fears which agitated that generation, lest the dissolution of the Union might follow the death of this great bulwark of nationality, have blended, in our time, into gratitude and reverence for the founder of the Constitution.

CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ

ORATION AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE CAPTURE OF
MAJOR ANDRÉ, AT TARRYTOWN, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 23, 1880.

ONE hundred years ago the sun rose upon the same beautiful landscape which surrounds us here to-day. The noble Hudson rolled in front; to the north were the Highlands, in their majesty and strength; on the west towered the mountains enclosing the bay, and on the east spread valleys and hills celebrated then, as now, for their picturesqueness and commanding views. Beyond the loveliness of the situation it had no greater claims upon the attention of the world than hundreds of places adorned by nature which have made our State celebrated for the beauty and variety of its scenery; but when the sun went down this spot had become one of the fields priceless in the memory of mankind, where virtue is vindicated, and civilization and liberty saved from great disaster. The story we repeat here has equal value as a lesson to the living and a reverent tribute to the memory of the dead.

History, traditions, legends forgotten, almost lost, in the rapid march of events and the wonderful development of material prosperity, are so revived by these commemorations that our county, richer than any other in the commonwealth in Revolutionary recollections, becomes in every part a perpetual teacher of the labors and sacrifices of patriotism to secure our independence.

The happiness and progress of mankind have as often been advanced or retarded by small events as by great battles. If the three hundred men with Leonidas stemmed the Persian torrent, and made Thermopylæ the inspiration of twenty centuries, right here a century ago to-day three plain farmers of Westchester preserved the liberties of the American people.

It is hard, even in imagination, to understand now the condition of this region at that period. Ominously known as the neutral ground, it was marauded and harried by Royal and Continental soldiers and by Skinners and Cowboys, robbers and brigands of equal infamy. The Whig farmer saw his cattle driven off and the flames of his buildings lighting the sky to-night,

and mercilessly retaliated upon his Tory neighbor to-morrow. Fences were down, fruit rotted ungathered on the ground, rank vegetation covered the unsown fields, and the gaunt and vengeful citizen guarded with ready musket his family and hidden stores, or watched in ambuscade by the wayside to recapture his stolen property or prevent the delivery of foraged stores to the enemy. Amidst such experiences and surroundings the captors of André passed their daily lives.

September, 1780, was a gloomy and anxious time for Washington and Congress. Charleston had fallen, and Gates had been disastrously defeated. With the rout of his army the whole South had come under the enemy's control. New Jersey was overrun, and twenty thousand men, veterans of European battlefields, were gathered in New York. The French fleet had sailed away, a large reinforcement to the British navy had arrived, and Washington's cherished plan of a demonstration against the city had to be abandoned. The only American force worthy the name of an army, numbering fewer than twelve thousand, suffering from long arrears of pay, without money to send to their starving families, and deficient in supplies, was encamped at and about West Point. This critical moment was selected by Arnold, with devilish sagacity, to strike his deadly blow. Elated by the success which had crowned his earlier efforts, he plunged into excesses which left him without a command, bankrupt in fortune, and smarting under the reprimand of Congress. He still retained the confidence of Washington, and anxious to secure the largest price for his treason, applied for and obtained the command of West Point. The surrender of this post, controlling the passes of the Hudson, with its war materials vital to the maintenance of the patriot army, and its garrison of four thousand troops, together with the person of Washington, would end, in his judgment, the war, and give him a place second only to Monk in English history.

The success or failure of the united colonies in forming an independent government depended, from the beginning to the end of the contest, on the State of New York. Within her boundaries are the natural channels by which the Six Nations marched to savage empire; through which the English broke the French power on this continent, and by means of which emigration and commerce have peopled and enriched great States. A British

statesman and soldier said: "Fortify from Canada to the city of New York, and we can hold the colonies together." The British Cabinet and generals said: "Capture and place a chain of posts along the route from New York city to Canada, and we can crush rebellious New England and awe all the rest into submission." The battle of Saratoga and surrender of Burgoyne defeated the last and most formidable attempt to accomplish this result by arms. Upon its bloody field American independence was consummated. That grand victory, which gave us unity at home and recognition abroad, was largely due to the skill, the dash, the intrepid valor of Arnold.

The issue in that conflict decided the control of the passes of the Hudson, and all which would follow was now to be reopened and reversed by treason—and the traitor the same Arnold. For eighteen months a correspondence opened by Arnold had been carried on between him and Major André, acting for Sir Henry Clinton. He wrote over the signature of Gustavus, seeking a bid for his defection, and occasionally imparting valuable information to indicate his importance. André replied under the name of John Anderson, testing and tempting. These letters, molded in the vocabulary of trade, and treating of the barter and sale of cattle and goods, were really haggling about the price of the betrayal of the liberties of America and a human soul. The time had come for action, and the British must be satisfied as to the identity of their man and the firmness of his purpose, and commit him beyond the possibility of retreat. "For," said Sir Henry Clinton, "we propose to risk no lives upon the possibilities of deceit or failure." The first meeting appointed at Dobbs' Ferry, on the 12th of September, failed, and Arnold came near being captured. With rare audacity he reported his visit at once to Washington, and the next day wrote a letter to General Greene expressing bitter indignation against Gates for his Southern defeat, and the apprehension that it would leave an indelible stain upon his reputation.

Armed with a decoy letter from Beverly Robinson, ostensibly about his confiscated lands, really conveying information where an interview with André might be had, he met Washington, on his way to see Rochambeau at Hartford, carried him across the river at Verplanck's Point in his barge, and asked permission to go, but the chief declined, saying the matter had better be left

to the civil authorities. An overruling Providence was protecting the patriot cause and weaving about the plot the elements of its exposure and destruction. Baffled, but not disheartened, Arnold, lurking in the bushes of the Long Clove below Haverstraw, sent a boat at midnight to the *Vulture* to bring André to the shore. The boatmen, roughly handled on the sloop-of-war for daring to approach her without a flag of truce, are hurried before André and explain their mission. Covering his uniform with a cloak he determined to accompany them. The caution of Sir Henry Clinton not to go within the American lines, not to cover his uniform, not to be the bearer of any papers, rings in his ears. The warning hand of Beverly Robinson rests upon his shoulder. The danger, the disgrace, the prize, are before him. If detected, a spy; if successful, at the head of a victorious column upon Fort Putnam receiving the surrender of West Point; a General's commission; the thanks of Parliament; the knightly honors of his King. Brilliant, accomplished, captivating, chivalric, and ambitious, his secret correspondence had revealed the defect in his character; his moral sense was paralyzed in the presence of great opportunities.

The dawn finds Arnold and André still in the thicket, still disputing about the terms. Horses are hastily mounted, and they start for Smith's House, still standing yonder above the bay. The sentinel's challenge, the countersign, warn André that he is in the last position of a soldier: disguised and on a secret mission within the enemy's camp. All the morning that fearful bargaining goes on, and at last it is settled. He receives the papers giving the plans, fortifications, armament, and troops at West Point, the proceedings of Washington's last council of war, and hides them between his stockings and his feet. He receives the assurance that the defenses shall be so manned as to fall without a blow, assures Arnold in return a brigadier-generalship in the British army and seven thousand pounds in money, and bids him farewell till he meets him at the close of a sham combat to receive his surrender and sword.

Those two men thus bidding adieu on yonder hillside have determined the destinies of unborn millions, none share their secret, and there is no one to betray them. Once safely back with those papers, and America's doom is sealed. We bow with devout and humble thanksgiving to the watchful and beneficent

Providence that turned most trivial circumstances into the powerful elements which thwarted this well-laid scheme. Colonel Livingston, commanding at Verplanck's, refused by Arnold a heavy gun to fire upon the *Vulture*, had made it so hot for her with a little four-pounder on Teller's Point, that she had dropped down the river. The timid Smith, of whom posterity is in doubt whether he was a knave or a tool, was too scared to venture to reach her by boat, and so the land journey was determined upon. Still further disguised, and armed with Arnold's pass in the name of John Anderson, André crossed the river on the afternoon of the 22d of September to Verplanck's Point, and safely passed through Livingston's camp. Gayly he rides, accompanied by Smith, through the Cortlandt woods, and over the Yorktown hills. He laughs as he passes the ancient guide-post, bearing its legend, "Dishe his di Roode toe de Kshing's Farray"; and his hair stood on end, he said, when he met Colonel Webb, of our army, whom he perfectly knew, but who stared and went on. His plan is to strike the White Plains road and so reach his own lines. But at Crumpond Captain Boyd stops them. A most uncomfortable, inquisitive, vigilant, and troublesome Yankee, is this same Captain Boyd. Arnold's pass stuns him, but it requires all the versatility and adroitness of André to allay his suspicions. He so significantly recommends their remaining all night that they dare not decline. A Westchester farmer's bed never had two more uneasy occupants. At early dawn they departed, with Captain Boyd in the rear, and the Cowboys, against whom Boyd had warned them, in front. André's spirits rose. He had left disgrace and a shameful death behind, and saw only escape, glory, and renown before. Hitherto taciturn and depressed, he now overwhelmed his dazed companion with a flood of brilliant talk. Poetry, music, belles-lettres, the drama, the times, formed the theme of his flowing eloquence, and ever and anon as they ascended the many eminences which command a view of the Highlands and the river, he broke out in rapturous praise of the entrancing scenery. Mrs. Underhill, near Pine's Bridge, had lost her all, but one cow and a bag of meal, by a raid of the Cowboys the night before, but with true county hospitality she spread before them the time-honored Westchester dish of suppawn and milk. At Pine's Bridge, Smith's courage failed and he bade his companion good-by. This was another of the trivial incidents which led André

to his fate. Smith, with his acquaintance and ready wit, would have piloted him safely by the White Plains road, or upon the other route, and satisfied the scruples of the yeomen who captured him. Smith rode to West Point and by his report allayed Arnold's anxiety, and then in the easy and shiftless character of everybody's friend, he continued on to Fishkill and supped with Washington and his staff. André alone, free from care, decided to strike for the river: it was a shorter road, and from the Cowboys who infested it he had nothing to fear; but it was another link in the chain winding around him. The broad domains of his friends, the great loyalist families, lay about him, his own lines a few short hours beyond.

Saturday morning, the 23d of September, one hundred years ago, was one of those clear, bright, exhilarating days when this region is in the fullness of its quiet beauty. The handsome horseman delights the children of Staats Hammond's family as they hand him a cup of water, and leaves a lasting impression upon the Quakers of Chappaqua, of whom he inquires the distance to Tarrytown. Through Sparta, he strikes the river road, and gallops along that most picturesque highway, the scenery in harmony with the brilliant future spread before his imagination. He recognizes the old Sleepy Hollow Church, with its ancient bell bearing the motto, *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos*, and a half-mile in front sees the bridge over the little brook which was to be for him a fatal Rubicon. On the south side of that stream, in the bushes playing cards, were three young farmers of the neighborhood—John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart—watching to intercept the Cowboys and their stolen cattle. At the approach of the horseman, Paulding steps into the road, presents his musket, and calls a halt. It was nine in the morning; they have been there but an hour. An earlier start, a swifter pace, and André would have escaped; but this was still another of the trivial incidents in the fatal combination about him. André speaks first. "My lads, I hope you belong to our party." "Which party?" they said. "The lower party," he answered. "We do." "Then, thank God!" said he, "I am once more among friends. I am a British officer, out on particular business, and must not be detained a minute." Then they said: "We are Americans, and you are our prisoner and must dismount." "My God!" he said laughing, "a man must do anything

to get along," and presented Arnold's pass. Had he presented it first, Paulding said afterward, he would have let him go. They carefully scanned it, but persisted in detaining him. He threatened them with Arnold's vengeance for this disrespect to his order; but, in language more forcible than polite, they told him "they cared not for that," and led him to the great whitewood tree, under which he was searched. As the fatal papers fell from his feet, Paulding said: "My God, here it is!" and, as he read them, shouted in high excitement to his companions, "By God, he is a spy!"

Now came the crucial and critical moment. André, fully alive to his danger, and with every faculty alert, felt no alarm. He had the day before bargained with and successfully bought an American major-general of the highest military reputation. If a few thousand pounds and a commission in the British army could seduce the commander of a district, surely escape was easy from these three young men, but one of whom could read, and who were buttressed by neither fame nor fortune. "If you will release me," said André, "I will give you a hundred guineas and any amount of dry goods." "I will give you a thousand guineas," he cried, "and you can hold me hostage till one of your number returns with the money." Then Paulding swore, "We would not let you go for ten thousand guineas." That decision saved the liberties of America. It voiced the spirit which sustained and carried through the Revolutionary struggle for nationality, and crushed the rebellion waged eighty years afterward to destroy that nationality—the invincible courage and impregnable virtue of the common people.

As Washington was riding that night from Hartford, depressed by the refusal of Count Rochambeau, the French General, to co-operate in his plans, and to be overwhelmed on the morrow by Arnold's astounding treason, all along the route enthusiastic throngs with torches and acclamations hailed his approach. "We may be beaten by the English," he said to Rochambeau's aide, "it is the fortune of war; but behold an army which they can never conquer."

With one of his captors in front, the others on either side of his horse, André is carried to Colonel Jameson's, the nearest American post. The gay horseman has come to grief, and the buoyant gallop to the front has turned into a funeral march to

the rear, and he recalls the ill omen of the song sung by Wolfe the night before the storming of Quebec, and which he had repeated at the farewell dinner given him the evening of his departure on this fatal errand:

“Why, soldiers, why,
Should we be melancholy, boys,
Why, soldiers, why,
Whose business 'tis to die.”

Jameson, a brave and honest soldier, was easily duped by the courtly arts of André. While he sent the papers by special messenger to Washington, he was persuaded by André to forward him, with a letter descriptive of his capture, to Arnold. Once there, and both had escaped. The vigilant and suspicious Major Tallmadge induced Jameson to bring back André; but to recall the letter to Arnold he positively refused. Jameson's messenger to Washington, mistaking his road, did not reach West Point till the next noon; his messenger to Arnold arrived in the morning.

Washington, on approaching the river, according to his habit, proceeded at once to examine the fortifications. Lafayette reminded him that Mrs. Arnold's breakfast was waiting. “You young gentlemen are all in love with Mrs. Arnold,” he said. “You go and tell her not to wait for me, I will be there in a short time.” Hamilton and McHenry delivered the message, and were welcomed by Arnold and his wife. In the midst of the meal Allan, the messenger, delivered Jameson's letter. Arnold's iron nerve held him unconcerned at the table a few moments; then, saying he must go over to the Point to prepare for the reception of the General, he arose. His wife followed him upstairs. Hastily informing her of his ruin, and bidding her perhaps a last farewell, as she fell fainting to the floor, he kissed his sleeping baby, stepped a moment into the breakfast-room to inform his guests of the sudden illness of his wife, and, followed by his boat's crew, dashed down the hillside to the river. They must row with all their might, he told them, as he had a message to deliver on board the *Vulture*, eighteen miles below, for Washington, and should be back before evening. He reprimed his pistols, and, with one in each hand, sat resolved to die the death of a suicide rather than be captured. By promises of reward, by

voice and gesture, he urges his crew to their best exertions. His guilty soul peopling every turn of the river with avenging pursuit, he sails through the Highlands, waving his handkerchief as a flag to his forts, redoubts, and patrols, astonishing the vigilant Livingston at Verplanck's with the spectacle of his commander making straight for the British sloop of war, and takes the first free breath of relief as he steps on the deck of the *Vulture*.

To his coxswain he offers a commission, to the crew rewards, if they will desert and join the British. They unanimously refuse, and Larvey, the coxswain, replies: "If General Arnold likes the King of England, let him serve him; we love our country, and intend to live or die in support of her cause." At Arnold's command they are made prisoners, and he stood there among them then, as he stands pilloried in history for all time, the only American soldier who, during the Revolutionary War, turned traitor to his country. As Washington returns from the inspection at West Point to Arnold's headquarters, at the Robinson House, he finds Hamilton holding Jameson's letters and the papers found on André. Then he understands Arnold's sudden flight, the failure to greet him from the batteries with the accustomed salute, the general negligence and want of preparation for attack everywhere found. He stands on a mine. How far does this conspiracy extend? Who else are implicated? The enemy may come this very night, and who shall be placed in posts of danger? Despairingly he says: "Whom can we trust now?" But Washington's greatness shone conspicuously in great emergencies. Hamilton is dispatched to intercept Arnold, if possible; Tallmadge is ordered to bring André with triple guards to West Point; Greene at Tappan is directed to put the whole army in marching order, and before night every fort and defense from Putnam to Verplanck's is ready for an assault. Then, with no outward sign of excitement, Washington sat down to dinner, and with courtly kindness sent word to Arnold's hysterical and screaming wife: "It was my duty to arrest General Arnold, and I have used every exertion to do so, but I take pleasure in informing you that he is now safe on board the *Vulture*."

André was brought to West Point that night, and taken to the headquarters of the army at Tappan the next day. According to the laws and usages of war in relation to spies, Washington could have ordered him summarily to execution; but threats of

retaliation, impudent letters from Arnold, extraordinary appeals and interpretations of André's conduct and position from Sir Henry Clinton, began to pour in upon the Commander-in-Chief. He ordered a board of officers to be convened, and submitted the case to their consideration. It was as august a tribunal as ever sat under like circumstances. Six major-generals and eight brigadiers, as eminent as any in the service, including the foreign officers Lafayette and Steuben, formed the court. They gave André every opportunity to present his own defense, and when the facts were all in, unanimously adjudged him guilty, and that he must suffer the death of a spy. His youth, graces and accomplishments, his dignity and cheerfulness won the affections of his guard and the tenderest sympathy of the whole army. There was not a soldier present who would not have risked his life, if by so doing Arnold might be captured and substituted in André's place. In all the glittering splendor of the full uniform and ornaments of his rank, in the presence of the whole American army, without the quiver of a muscle or sign of fear, the officers about him weeping, the bands playing the dead march, he walked to execution. His last words were of loving solicitude for the welfare of mother and sisters in distant Britain, and the manner of fame he would leave behind. "How hard is my fate, but it will be but a momentary pang," he said, as he pushed aside the executioner and himself adjusted the rope. To those around he cried, "I pray you to bear witness that I meet my fate like a brave man," and swung into eternity.

The supernatural served to add to the interest and perpetuate the memory of this tragedy. On the day of his execution the great tree under which he was searched was shattered by a bolt of lightning; and at the same hour, at his home in England, his sister awoke from a troubled sleep screaming, "My brother is dead; he has been hung as a spy."

In the British army and in England the wildest indignation burst out against Washington. André was mourned and honored as if he had fallen in a moment of glorious victory at the head of his column. His brother was knighted, his family pensioned, and his King declared in solemn message that "the public can never be compensated for the vast advantages which must have followed from the success of his plan." In Westminster Abbey, that grand mausoleum of England's mighty dead, where repose

her great statesmen, warriors, and authors, King George III. placed a monument bearing this inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Major John André, who raised by his merit, at an early period of life, to the rank of Adjutant-General of the British Forces in America, and employed in an important but hazardous enterprise, fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and country." Forty years afterward a royal embassy came to this country, disinterred his remains at Tappan, and a British frigate sent for the purpose bore them to England, where they were buried beside his monument¹ with imposing ceremonies. One of the most enlightened and liberal of England's churchmen, in a recent visit to this land, wrote the inscription for, and urged the erection of, the monument to André's memory at Tappan, as one act which would do more than anything else to remove the last vestiges of enmity between the United States and Great Britain.²

André's story is the one overmastering romance of the Revolution. American and English literature is full of eloquence and poetry in tribute to his memory and sympathy for his fate. After the lapse of a hundred years there is no abatement of absorbing interest. What had this young man done to merit immortality? The mission, whose tragic issue lifted him out of the oblivion of other minor British officers, in its inception was free from peril or daring, and its objects and purposes were utterly infamous. Had he succeeded by the desecration of the honorable uses of passes and flags of truce, his name would have been held in everlasting execration. In his failure, the infant Republic escaped the dagger with which he was feeling for its heart, and the crime was drowned in tears for his untimely end. His youth and beauty, his skill with pen and pencil, his effervescing spirits and magnetic disposition, the brightness of his life, the calm courage in the gloom of his death, his early love and disappointment, and the image of his lost Honora hid in his mouth when captured in Canada, with the exclamation, "That saved, I care not for the loss of all the rest," and nestling in his bosom when he was slain, surrounded him with a halo of poetry

¹The inscription on the plinth reads: "The remains of the said Major André were deposited on the 28th of November, 1821, in a grave near this monument."—*Ed.*

²A curious commentary on this is that the monument to André at Tappan was dynamited by mistaken patriots, and the head of Washington, who is represented standing in a group in the raised bas-relief on the sarcophagus in Westminster Abbey, has been knocked off several times by André's unforgiving countrymen.—*Ed.*

and pity which have secured for him what he most sought and could never have won in battles and sieges—a fame and recognition which have outlived that of all the generals under whom he served.

Are kings only grateful, and do republics forget? Is fame a travesty, and the judgment of mankind a farce? America had a parallel case in Captain Nathan Hale. Of the same age as André, he graduated at Yale College with high honors, enlisted in the patriot cause at the beginning of the contest, and secured the love and confidence of all about him. When none else would go upon a most important and perilous mission he volunteered, and was captured by the British. While André received every kindness, courtesy, and attention, and was fed from Washington's table, Hale was thrust into a noisome dungeon in the sugar-house. While André was tried by a board of officers and had ample time and every facility for defense, Hale was summarily ordered to execution the next morning. While André's last wishes and bequests were sacredly followed, the infamous Cunningham tore from Hale his cherished Bible and destroyed before his eyes his last letters to his mother and sister, and asked him what he had to say. "All I have to say," was his reply, "is, I regret I have but one life to lose for my country." His death was concealed for months, because Cunningham said he did not want the rebels to know they had a man who could die so bravely. And yet, while André rests in that grandest of mausoleums, where the proudest of nations garners the remains and perpetuates the memories of its most eminent and honored children, the name and deeds of Nathan Hale have passed into oblivion, and only a simple tomb in a village church-yard marks his resting place.³ The dying declarations of André and Hale express the animating spirit of their several armies, and teach why, with all her power, England could not conquer America. "I call upon you to witness that I die like a brave man," said André, and he spoke from British and Hessian surroundings, seeking only glory and pay. "I regret I have but one life to lose for my country," said Hale; and with him and his comrades self was forgotten in that absorbing, passionate patriotism which pledges fortune, honor, and life to the sacred cause.

³A bronze statue of Hale was erected in 1893 in City Hall Park, New York, often erroneously spoken of as the scene of his execution. Hale was hanged at what is now the corner of Forty-fifth Street and First Avenue.—*Ed.*

But republics are not ungrateful. The captors of André were honored and rewarded in their lives, and grateful generations celebrate their deeds and revere their memories. Washington wrote to Congress: "The party that took Major André acted in such a manner as does them the highest honor, and proves them to be men of great virtue; their conduct gives them a just claim to the thanks of their country." Congress acted promptly. It thanked them by resolution, granted to each an annuity of two hundred dollars for life, and twelve hundred and fifty dollars in cash, or the same amount in confiscated lands in Westchester County, and directed a silver medal, bearing the motto "Fidelity" on the one side and "*Vincit Amor Patriæ*" on the other, to be presented to them. The Legislature of the State of New York gave to each of them a farm, in consideration—reads the act—of "their virtue in refusing a large sum offered to them by Major André as a bribe to permit him to escape." Shortly after, Washington gave a grand dinner-party at Verplanck's Point. At the table were his staff and the famous generals of the army, and as honored guests these three young men, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, whose names were now household words all over the land; and there, with solemn and impressive speech, Washington presented the medals. Paulding died in 1818, and in 1827 the Corporation of the City of New York placed a monument over his grave in the old cemetery just north of Peekskill, reciting, "The Corporation of the City of New York erected this Tomb as a Memorial Sacred to Public Gratitude," the Mayor delivering the address, and a vast concourse participating in the ceremonies. Van Wart died in 1828, and in the Greenburgh church-yard the citizens of the country erected a memorial in "Testimony of his Virtuous and Patriotic Conduct." Williams died in Livingstonville, in Schoharie County, in 1831, and was buried with military honors. In 1876 the State erected a monument, and his remains were re-interred in the old stone fort at Schoharie Court-house. On the spot where André was captured the young men of Westchester County, in 1853, built a cenotaph in honor of his captors.

Arnold, burned in effigy in every village and hamlet in America, received his money and a commission in the British army, but was daily insulted by the proud and honorable officers upon whom his association was forced, and who despised alike the treason and the traitor. His infamy has served to gild and gloss

the acts of André, and, deepening with succeeding years, brings out with each generation a clearer and purer appreciation of the virtue and patriotism of Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart.

Pity for André led to grave injustice to Washington and detraction of his captors, which a century has not effaced. Sir Henry Clinton and his officers, in addresses and memoirs, denounced the execution of André as without justification. A contemporary British poetess characterized Washington as a "remorseless murderer," and one of the latest and ablest of England's historians says this act is the one indelible "blot upon his character," and that the decision of the military tribunal composed of men ignorant of Vattel and Puffendorff, and fresh from "plow-handles and shop-boards," does not relieve him. It has become a conviction abroad, and to some extent a sentiment here, that a grave and fatal error was committed. It is claimed that André was under the protection of a flag of truce; that he was within the American lines upon the invitation of the commander of the district, and under the protection of that General's pass; that his intent was free from turpitude, and the circumstances surrounding his position entitled him to exchange or discharge. When André was on trial upon the charge of being a spy, he testified in his own behalf that "he had reason to suppose he came on shore under a flag of truce," and such is the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses. The story was the subsequent invention of Arnold; but, even if true, the flag is recognized in the usages of war for definite and honorable purposes—it ameliorates the horrors of the conflict; but when used as a cover for treasonable purposes, loses its character and protective power. To present it as a defense and shield for the corrupt correspondence of the enemy's emissary and a traitorous officer, is a monstrous perversion. It is true he was present at Arnold's invitation and carried his pass, but he knew the object of his visit, and did not hold the pass in his own name and title. Months before he had written to Colonel Sheldon, commanding the Continental outposts, that under flag and pass he purposed visiting, on important business, General Arnold, at West Point, and requesting safe conduct, and signing and representing himself as John Anderson, a trader. The meeting which finally took place was an appointment often before thwarted, and its object to tamper with the integrity and seduce from his allegiance the enemy's officer.

The signals and agencies of communication and travel between hostile forces were collusively used to procure the betrayal of an army and the ruin of a nation. André landed at Haverstraw to traffic with the necessities and tempt the irritated pride of a bankrupt and offended general, and having succeeded in seducing him to surrender the forts and trusts under his command, Benedict Arnold, so far as his confederate André was concerned, ceased from that moment to be the American commander, and any papers issued by him to further and conceal the scheme were absolutely void. His pass and safe-conduct were not only vitiated in their inception by the joint act of giver and receiver, secreting treason in them, but they were issued to an assumed name and borne in a false character. A British soldier found disguised in the American lines, with the plans of the patriots' forts, the details of their armament, and the outlines of the plot for their betrayal, hidden in his boots, lost, with the discovery of his personality and purposes, the protection of a fraudulent certificate.

Greene and Knox, Lafayette and Steuben, and the other members of the board of officers who tried and convicted André, may possibly have been ignorant of the great authorities upon international law; but had they studied, they would have found in them both precedent and justification. While the laws of war justify tampering with the opposing commander and compassing his desertion, the sudden, unsuspected, unguardable, and overwhelming character of the blow renders it the highest of crimes, and subjects those detected and arrested in the act to summary execution. A general is commissioned by his government to fight its battles and protect its interests. The law of principal and agent is as applicable as to a civil transaction, and all who deal with him, to betray his trust, know that he is acting beyond the limits of his authority. Not the least remarkable of the incidents of this strange history was the proposition of Sir Henry Clinton to submit the question to the arbitration of the French General Rochambeau and the Hessian General Knyphausen. Such an offer would never have been made to a European commander. It was an expression, in a form most offensive to Washington, of that supercilious contempt for the abilities, acquirements, and opinions of American soldiers and statesmen, on the part of the ruling classes in England, which precipitated the Revolution and created this Republic. The sympathy and

grief of Washington for André and his misfortunes were among the deepest and profoundest emotions of his life. The most urgent public necessity, the most solemn of public duties, demanded his decision. The country and the army were dismayed by the plot, which Congress declared would have been ruinous to the cause; which Greene proclaimed in general order would have been a fatal stab at our liberties; which King George the Third said possessed advantages that, if successful, could not be estimated; and, as Sir Henry Clinton wrote, would have ended the conflict. Washington's remark to Lafayette, "Whom can we trust now?" echoed the sentiment of the hour. In that supreme moment, private considerations and personal pity surrendered to the requirements of official responsibility, and General Washington, the Commander-in-Chief, stamped out treasonable sentiment within, and deterred treasonable efforts without, by signing the death warrant of Major John André.

André left as a legacy a blow at his captors which, thirty-seven years afterward, bore extraordinary fruit. In 1817 one of them petitioned Congress for an increase of pension, and Major Tallmadge,* then a member assailed them with great vigor and virulence. He had been a distinguished officer in the Revolutionary War. It was by his energy and sagacity that Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson was prevented from delivering André to Arnold, and he was in command of the guard and with André till his death. Like all the young American officers about him, Tallmadge formed a warm friendship for him, and admiration of his character and accomplishments. He asserted that his captors were Cowboys, and that it was André's opinion, frequently expressed, that they stopped him for plunder, and would have released him if he could have given security for his ransom. Tallmadge knew nothing of either of them prior to this event, and his judgment was wholly the reflex of André's expressions. André's remarks were either a deliberate stab at the reputations of the men toward whom the nation's gratitude was already rising with a volume which promised an immortality of fame, while he was waiting a shameful death, or in his dread extremity he could neither understand any higher motive in them to resist his offers, nor regard with tolerance or patience these humble peasants

*Benjamin Tallmadge, born at Brookhaven, Long Island, N.Y., in 1754, died at Litchfield, Conn., where he settled in 1782, in 1835. He was a Member of Congress in 1801-17. Major Tallmadge walked with André to the place of execution.—Ed.

whose acts had ruined his fortunes and delivered him to his fate. But against assertions and theories stand the impregnable facts of history. They did reject bribes beyond the wildest dreams of any wealth they ever hoped to accumulate. They did deliver him to the nearest American post, and neither asked nor expected any reward. Van Wart had served four years in the Westchester Militia, and his term of enlistment had but recently expired. Paulding had been twice a British prisoner of war in New York, and was a third time wounded in their hands at the declaration of peace, and the Yager uniform in which he had escaped but four days before the capture misled André into the impulsive revelation of his rank. Security for the ransom they had. As they were intelligent enough to understand the importance of their prisoner, they knew that while two held him as hostage, the third could arrange for the delivery of any sum he promised upon his release. Washington, the Continental Congress, and the Legislature of our own State are the contemporary witnesses, and their testimonies, by words and deeds, are part of the record which makes this day memorable. When the news of Major Tallmadge's charges was received here, sixteen of the most respected and reputable men of our county—names as familiar among us as household words—certified to Congress, "that during the Revolutionary War they were well acquainted with Isaac Van Wart, David Williams, and John Paulding, and that at no time during the Revolutionary War was any suspicion entertained by their neighbors or acquaintances that they or either of them held any undue intercourse with the enemy. On the contrary, they were universally esteemed, and taken to be ardent and faithful in the cause of the country." Van Wart and Paulding, in solemn affidavits, reasserted the details of the capture and the motives of their conduct. As each of them in ripe old age and the fullness of years was called to render his account to the Great Judge, mourning thousands gathered about the graves to testify their reverence; and the respect and gratitude of their countrymen reared monuments to their memories.

The population, prosperity, wealth, and luxury which surround us here have grown upon the devastated fields of a century ago. We re-dedicate this cenotaph in honor of those whose virtues made possible this result. The peace, civilization, liberty, and happiness we enjoy at home, the power which commands

for us respect abroad, lie in the strength and perpetuity of our republican institutions. Had they been lost by battle or treason in the Revolutionary struggle, or sunk in the bloody chasm of civil war, the grand nationality of to-day would have been dependent provinces, or warring and burdened States. Arnold and André, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, are characters in a drama which crystallizes an eternal principle: that these institutions rest upon the integrity and patriotism of the common people. We are not here to celebrate marches, sieges and battles. The trumpet, the charge, the waving plume, the flying enemy, the hero's death, are not our inspiration. The light which made clear to these men the priceless value of country and liberty was but the glimmering dawn, compared with the noonday glory of the full-orbed radiance in which we stand. As a hundred years have ripened the fame and enriched the merit of their deed, so will it be rehearsed with increasing gratitude by each succeeding century. This modest shaft marks the memorable spot where they withstood temptation and saved the State, but their monument is the Republic—its inscription upon the hearts of its teeming and happy millions.

COLUMBIAN ORATION

THE COLUMBIAN ORATION, DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATORY CEREMONIES OF THE WORLD'S FAIR, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 21, 1892.

THIS day belongs not to America alone, but to the world. The results of the event it commemorates are the heritage of the peoples of every race and clime. We celebrate the emancipation of man. The preparation was the work of almost countless centuries; the realization was the revelation of one. The Cross on Calvary was hope; the cross raised on San Salvador was opportunity. But for the first, Columbus would never have sailed; but for the second, there would have been no place for the planting, the nurture, and the expansion of civil and religious liberty. Ancient history is a dreary record of unstable civilizations. Each reached its zenith of material splendor, and perished. The Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman Empires were proofs of the possibilities and limitations of man for conquest and intellectual development. Their destruction involved a sum of misery and relapse which made their creation rather a curse than a blessing. Force was the factor in the government of the world when Christ was born, and force was the source and exercise of authority both by Church and State when Columbus sailed from Palos. The Wise Men traveled from the East toward the West under the guidance of the Star of Bethlehem. The spirit of the equality of all men before God and the law moved westward from Calvary, with its revolutionary influence upon old institutions, to the Atlantic Ocean. Columbus carried it westward across the seas. The emigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, from Germany and Holland, from Sweden and Denmark, from France and Italy, from Spain and Portugal, under its guidance and inspiration, moved West, and again West, building states and founding cities until the Pacific limited their march. The exhibition of arts and sciences, of industries and inventions, of education and civilization, which the Republic of the United States will here present, and to which, through its Chief Magistrate, it invites all nations, condenses and displays the flower and fruitage of this transcendent miracle.

The anarchy and chaos which followed the breaking up of the Róman Empire necessarily produced the feudal system. The people, preferring slavery to annihilation by robber chiefs, became the vassals of territorial lords. The reign of physical force is one of perpetual struggle for the mastery. Power which rests upon the sword neither shares nor limits its authority. The king destroyed the lords, and the monarchy succeeded feudalism. Neither of these institutions considered or consulted the people. They had no part but to suffer or die in this mighty strife of masters for the mastery. But the throne, by its broader view and greater resources, made possible the construction of the highways of freedom. Under its banner races could unite and petty principalities be merged, law could be substituted for brute force and right for might. It founded and endowed universities, and encouraged commerce. It conceded no political privileges, but unconsciously prepared its subjects to demand them.

Absolutism in the State and intolerance in the Church shackled popular unrest, and imprisoned thought and enterprise in the fifteenth century. The divine right of kings stamped out the faintest glimmer of revolt against tyranny, and the problems of science, whether of the skies or of the earth, whether of astronomy or geography, were solved or submerged by ecclesiastical decrees. The dungeon was ready for the philosopher who proclaimed the truths of the solar system, or the navigator who would prove the sphericity of the earth. An English Gladstone, a French Gambetta, a German Bismarck, an Italian Garibaldi, a Spanish Castelar, would have been thought a monster; and his death at the stake or on the scaffold, and under the anathemas of the Church, would have received the praise and approval of kings and nobles, of priests and peoples. Reason had no seat in spiritual or temporal realms. Punishment was the incentive to patriotism, and piety was held possible by torture. Confessions of faith extorted from the writhing victim on the rack were believed efficacious in saving his soul from fires eternal beyond the grave. For all that humanity to-day cherishes as its best heritage and choicest gifts, there was neither thought nor hope.

Fifty years before Columbus sailed from Palos, Gutenberg and Faust had forged the hammer which was to break the bonds of superstition and open the prison doors of the mind. They had invented the printing press and movable types. The prior

adoption of a cheap process for the manufacture of paper at once utilized the press. Its first service, like all its succeeding efforts, was for the people. The universities and the schoolmen, the privileged and the learned few of that age, were longing for the revelation and preservation of the classic treasures of antiquity, hidden, and yet insecure, in monastic cells and libraries. But the first-born of the marvelous creations of these primitive printers of Mayence was the printed Bible. The priceless contributions of Greece and Rome to the intellectual training and development of the modern world came afterward, through the same wondrous machine. The force, however, which made possible America, and its reflex influence upon Europe, was the open Bible by the family fireside. And yet neither the enlightenment of the new learning, nor the dynamic power of the spiritual awakening, could break through the crust of caste which had been forming for centuries. Church and State had so firmly and dexterously interwoven the bars of privilege and authority that liberty was impossible from within. Its piercing light and fervent heat must penetrate from without.

Civil and religious freedom are founded upon the individual and his independence, his worth, his rights, and his equal status and opportunity. For his planting and development a new land must be found, where, with limitless areas for expansion, the avenues of progress would have no bars of custom or heredity, of social orders or privileged classes. The time had come for the emancipation of the mind and soul of humanity. The factors wanting for its fulfillment were the new world and its discoverer.

God always has in training some commanding genius for the control of great crises in the affairs of nations and peoples. The number of these leaders is less than the centuries, but their lives are the history of human progress. Though Cæsar and Charlemagne, Hildebrand and Luther, William the Conqueror and Oliver Cromwell, and all the epoch makers prepared Europe for the event and contributed to the result, the lights which illumine our firmament to-day are Columbus the discoverer, Washington the founder, and Lincoln the saviour.

Neither realism nor romance furnishes a more striking and picturesque figure than that of Christopher Columbus. The mystery about his origin heightens the charm of his story. That he

came from among the toilers of his time is in harmony with the struggles of our period. Forty-four so-called authentic portraits of him have descended to us, and no two of them are the counterfeits of the same person. Each represents a character as distinct as its canvas. Strength and weakness, intellectuality and stupidity, high moral purpose and brutal ferocity, purity and licentiousness, the dreamer and the miser, the pirate and the puritan, are the types from which we may select our hero. We dismiss the painter and, piercing with the clarified vision of the dawn of the twentieth century the veil of four hundred years, we construct our Columbus.

The perils of the sea in his youth upon the rich argosies of Genoa, or in the service of the licensed rovers who made them their prey, had developed a skillful navigator and intrepid mariner. They had given him a glimpse of the possibilities of the unknown beyond the highways of travel, which roused an unquenchable thirst for adventure and research. The study of the narratives of previous explorers, and diligent questionings of the daring spirits who had ventured far toward the fabled West, gradually evolved a theory, which became in his mind so fixed a fact that he could inspire others with his own passionate beliefs. The words "that is a lie," written by him on the margin of nearly every page of a volume of the travels of Marco Polo, which is still to be found in a Genoese library, illustrate the skepticism of his beginning, and the first vision of the New World the fulfillment of his faith.

To secure the means to test the truth of his speculations, this poor and unknown dreamer must win the support of kings and overcome the hostility of the Church. He never doubted his ability to do both, though he knew of no man living who was so great in power, or lineage, or learning that he could accomplish either. Unaided and alone he succeeded in arousing the jealousies of sovereigns, and dividing the councils of the ecclesiastics. "I will command your fleet and discover for you new realms, but only on condition that you confer on me hereditary nobility, the Admiralty of the Ocean, and the Vice-Royalty and one-tenth of the revenues of the New World," were his haughty terms to King John of Portugal. After ten years of disappointment and poverty, subsisting most of the time upon the charity of the enlightened monk of the Convent of Rabida, who was his unfalter-

ing friend, he stood before the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella and, rising to imperial dignity in his rage, embodied the same royal conditions in his petition. The capture of Granada, the expulsion of Islam from Europe, and the triumph of the Cross aroused the admiration and devotion of Christendom. But this proud beggar, holding in his grasp the potential promise and dominion of El Dorado and Cathay, divided with the Moslem surrender the attention of sovereigns and of bishops. France and England indicated a desire to hear his theories and see his maps while he was still a suppliant at the gates of the camp of Castile and Aragon, the sport of its courtiers and the scoff of its confessors. His unshakable faith that Christopher Columbus was commissioned from heaven, by his name and by Divine command, to carry "Christ across the sea" to new continents and pagan peoples, lifted him so far above the discouragements of an empty purse and a contemptuous court that he was proof against the rebuffs of fortune or of friends. To conquer the prejudices of the clergy, to win the approval and financial support of the State, to venture upon that unknown ocean which, according to the beliefs of the age, was peopled with demons and savage beasts of frightful shape, and from which there was no possibility of return, required the zeal of Peter the Hermit, the chivalric courage of the Cid, and the imagination of Dante. Columbus belonged to that high order of cranks who confidently walk where "angels fear to tread," and often become the benefactors of their country or their kind.

It was a happy omen of the position which woman was to hold in America, that the only person who comprehended the majestic scope of his plans, and the invincible quality of his genius, was the able and gracious Queen of Castile. Isabella alone of all the dignitaries of that age shares with Columbus the honors of his great achievement. She arrayed her kingdom and her private fortune behind the enthusiasm of this mystic mariner, and posterity pays homage to her wisdom and faith.

The overthrow of the Mohammedan power in Spain would have been a forgotten scene in one of the innumerable acts in the grand drama of history, had not Isabella conferred immortality upon herself, her husband, and their dual crown by her recognition of Columbus. The devout spirit of the queen and the high purpose of the explorer inspired the voyage, subdued the

mutinous crew, and prevailed over the raging storms. They covered with the divine radiance of religion and humanity the degrading search for gold, and the horrors of its quest, which filled the first century of conquest with every form of lust and greed.

The mighty soul of the great admiral was undaunted by the ingratitude of princes and the hostility of the people, by imprisonment and neglect. He died as he was securing the means and preparing a campaign for the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem from the infidel. He did not know what time has revealed, that while the mission of the crusaders, of Godfrey of Bouillon and Richard of the Lion Heart, was a bloody and fruitless romance, the discovery of America was the salvation of the world. The one was the symbol, the other the spirit; the one death, the other life. The tomb of the Saviour was a narrow and empty vault, precious only for its memories of the supreme tragedy of the centuries, but the new continent was to be the home and temple of the living God.

The rulers of the Old World began with partitioning the New. To them the discovery was expansion of Empire, and grandeur to the throne. Vast territories, whose properties and possibilities were little understood, and whose extent was greater than the kingdoms of the sovereigns, were the gifts to court favorites and the prizes of royal approval. But individual intelligence and independent conscience found here haven and refuge. They were passengers upon the caravels of Columbus, and he was unconsciously making for the port of civil and religious liberty. Thinkers who believed men capable of higher destinies and large responsibilities, and pious people who preferred the Bible to that union of Church and State where each serves the other for the temporal benefit of both, fled to these distant and hospitable lands from intolerable and hopeless oppression at home. It required three hundred years for the people thus happily situated to understand their own powers and resources, and to break bonds which were still revered or loved, no matter how deeply they wounded or how hard they galled.

The nations of Europe were so completely absorbed in dynastic difficulties and devastating wars, with diplomacy and ambitions, that if they heard of they did not heed the growing democratic spirit and intelligence in their American Colonies. To them these provinces were sources of revenue, and they never dreamed

that they were also schools of liberty. That it exhausted three centuries under the most favorable conditions for the evolution of freedom on this continent, demonstrates the tremendous strength of custom and heredity when sanctioned and sanctified by religion. The very chains which fettered became inextricably interwoven with the habits of life, the associations of childhood, the tenderest ties of the family, and the sacred offices of the Church from the cradle to the grave. It clearly proves that if the people of the Old World and their descendants had not possessed the opportunities afforded by the New for their emancipation, and mankind had never experienced and learned the American example, they would still be struggling with mediæval problems, instead of living in the light and glory of nineteenth century conditions.

The northern continent was divided between England, France, and Spain, and the southern between Spain and Portugal. France, wanting the capacity for colonization, which still characterizes her, gave up her western possessions and left the English, who have the genius of universal empire, masters of North America. The development of the experiment in the English domain makes this day memorable. It is due to the wisdom and courage, the faith and virtue of the inhabitants of this territory that government of the people, for the people, and by the people was inaugurated, and has become a triumphant success. The Puritan settled in New England and the Cavalier in the South. They represented the opposites of spiritual and temporal life and opinions. The processes of liberty liberalized the one and elevated the other. Washington and Adams were the new types. Their union in a common cause gave the world a republic both stable and free. It possessed conservatism without bigotry, and liberty without license. It founded institutions strong enough to resist revolution, and elastic enough for indefinite expansion to meet the requirements in government of ever enlarging areas of population, and the needs of progress and growth. It was nurtured by the toleration and patriotism which bound together in a common cause the Puritans of New England and the Catholics of Maryland, the Dutch Reformers of New York and the Huguenots of South Carolina, the Quakers and Lutherans of Pennsylvania, and the Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians,

Baptists, and religionists of all the opposite opinions in the other Colonies.

The *Mayflower* with the Pilgrims and a Dutch ship laden with African slaves were on the ocean at the same time, the one sailing for Massachusetts, the other for Virginia. This company of saints and first cargo of slaves, represented the forces which were to peril and rescue free government. The slaver was the product of the commercial spirit of Great Britain and the greed of the times to stimulate production in the Colonies. The men who wrote in the cabin of the *Mayflower* the first charter of freedom, a government of just and equal laws, were a little band of protestants against every form of injustice and tyranny. The leaven of their principles made possible the Declaration of Independence, liberated the slaves, and founded the free commonwealths which form the Republic of the United States.

Platforms of principles, by petition or protest or statement, have been as frequent as revolts against established authority. They are a part of the political literature of all nations. The Declaration of Independence, proclaimed at Philadelphia, July Fourth, 1776, is the only one of them which arrested the attention of the world when it was published, and has held its undivided interest ever since. The vocabulary of the equality of man had been in familiar use by philosophers and statesmen for ages. It expressed noble sentiments, but their application was limited to classes or conditions. The masses cared little for them nor remembered them long. Jefferson's superb crystallization of the popular opinion, that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," had its force and effect in being the deliberate utterance of the people. It swept away in a single sentence kings and nobles, peers and prelates. It was Magna Charta and the Petition of Rights planted in the virgin soil of the American wilderness, and bearing richer and riper fruit. Under its vitalizing influence upon the individual, the farmer left his plow in the furrow, the lawyer his books and briefs, the merchant his shop, and the workman his bench, to enlist in the patriot army. They were fighting for themselves and their children. They embodied the idea in their Constitution in the immortal words with which that great

instrument of liberty and order began: "We, the people of the United States, do ordain."

The scope and limitations of this idea of freedom have neither been misinterpreted nor misunderstood. The laws of nature, in their application to the rise and recognition of men according to their mental, moral, spiritual, and physical endowments, are left undisturbed. But the accident of birth gives no rank and confers no privilege. Equal rights and common opportunity for all have been the spurs of ambition and the motors of progress. They have established the common schools, and built the public libraries. A sovereign people have learned and enforced the lesson of free education. The practice of government is itself a liberal education. People who make their own laws need no lawgivers. After a century of successful trial, the system has passed the period of experiment, and its demonstrated permanency and power are revolutionizing the governments of the world. It has raised the largest armies of modern times for self-preservation, and at the successful termination of the war returned the soldiers to the pursuits of peace. It has so adjusted itself to the pride and patriotism of the defeated that they vie with the victors in their support of and enthusiasm for the old flag and our common country. Imported anarchists have preached their baleful doctrines, but have made no converts. They have tried to inaugurate a reign of terror under the banner of the violent seizure and distribution of property, only to be defeated, imprisoned, and executed by the law made by the people and enforced by juries selected from the people, and judges and prosecuting officers elected by the people. Socialism finds disciples only among those who were its votaries before they were forced to fly from their native land, but it does not take root upon American soil. The State neither supports nor permits taxation to maintain the Church. The citizen can worship God according to his belief and conscience, or he may neither reverence nor recognize the Almighty. And yet religion has flourished, churches abound, the ministry is sustained, and millions of dollars are contributed annually for the evangelization of the world. The United States is a Christian country, and a living and practical Christianity is the characteristic of its people.

Benjamin Franklin, philosopher and patriot, amused the jaded courtiers of Louis XVI. by his talks about liberty, and entertained

the scientists of France by bringing lightning from the clouds. In the reckoning of time, the period from Franklin to Morse and from Morse to Edison is but a span, and yet it marks a material development as marvelous as it has been beneficent. The world has been brought into contact and sympathy. The electric current thrills and unifies the people of the globe. Power and production, highways and transports, have been so multiplied and improved by inventive genius that within the century of our Independence sixty-four millions of people have happy homes and improved conditions within our borders. We have accumulated wealth far beyond the visions of the Cathay of Columbus or the El Dorado of De Soto. But the farmers and freeholders, the savings-banks and shops, illustrate its universal distribution. The majority are its possessors and administrators. In housing and living, in the elements which make the toiler a self-respecting and respected citizen, in avenues of hope and ambition for children, in all that gives broader scope and keener pleasure to existence, the people of this Republic enjoy advantages far beyond those of other lands. The unequaled and phenomenal progress of the country has opened wonderful opportunities for making fortunes, and stimulated to madness the desire and rush for the accumulation of money. Material prosperity has not debased literature nor debauched the press; it has neither paralyzed nor repressed intellectual activity. American science and letters have received rank and recognition in the older centers of learning. The demand for higher education has so taxed the resources of the ancient universities as to compel the foundation and liberal endowment of colleges all over the Union. Journals, remarkable for their ability, independence, and power, find their strength, not in the patronage of government or the subsidies of wealth, but in the support of a nation of newspaper readers. The humblest and poorest person has, in periodicals whose price is counted in pennies, a library larger, fuller, and more varied than was within the reach of the rich in the time of Columbus.

The sum of human happiness has been infinitely increased by the millions from the Old World who have improved their conditions in the New, and the returning tide of lesson and experience has incalculably enriched the Fatherlands. The divine right of kings has taken its place with the instruments of medieval torture among the curiosities of the antiquary. Only the shadow

of kingly authority stands between the government of themselves, by themselves, and the people of Norway and Sweden. The union in one Empire of the states of Germany is the symbol of Teutonic power and the hope of German liberalism. The petty despotisms of Italy have been merged into a nationality which has centralized its authority in its ancient capitol on the hills of Rome. France was rudely roused from the sullen submission of centuries to intolerable tyranny by her soldiers returning from service in the American revolution. The wild orgies of the Reign of Terror were the revenges and excesses of a people who had discovered their power, but were not prepared for its beneficent use. She fled from herself into the arms of Napoleon. He too was a product of the American experiment. He played with kings as with toys, and educated France for liberty. In the processes of her evolution from darkness to light, she tried Bourbon, and Orleanist, and the third Napoleon, and cast them aside. Now in the fullness of time, and through the training in the school of hardest experience, the French people have reared and enjoy a permanent Republic. England of the *Mayflower* and of James First, England of George Third and of Lord North, has enlarged suffrage and is to-day animated and governed by the democratic spirit. She has her throne, admirably occupied by one of the wisest of sovereigns and best of women, but it would not survive one dissolute and unworthy successor. She has her hereditary Peers, but the House of Lords will be brushed aside the moment it resists the will of the people.

The time has arrived for both a closer union and greater distance between the Old World and the New. The former indiscriminate welcome to our prairies, and the present invitation to these palaces of art and industry, mark the passing period. Unwatched and unhealthy immigration can no longer be permitted to our shores. We must have a national quarantine against disease, pauperism, and crime. We do not want candidates for our hospitals, our poorhouses, or our jails. We cannot admit those who come to undermine our institutions or subvert our laws. But we will gladly throw wide our gates for, and receive with open arms, those who by intelligence and virtue, by thrift and loyalty, are worthy of receiving the equal advantages of the priceless gift of American citizenship. The spirit and object of this exhibition are peace and kinship.

Three millions of Germans, who are among the best citizens of the Republic, send greeting to the Fatherland, their pride in its glorious history, its ripe literature, its traditions and associations. Irish, equal in number to those who still remain upon the Emerald Isle, who have illustrated their devotion to their adopted country on many a battlefield, fighting for the Union and its perpetuity, have rather intensified than diminished their love for the land of the shamrock, and their sympathy with the aspirations of their brethren at home. The Italian, the Spaniard, and the Frenchman; the Norwegian, the Swede, and the Dane; the English, the Scotch, and the Welsh, are none the less loyal and devoted Americans because in this congress of their kin the tendrils of affection draw them closer to the hills and valleys, the legends and the loves associated with their youth.

Edmund Burke, speaking in the British Parliament with prophetic voice, said: "A great revolution has happened—a revolution made, not by chopping and changing of power in any of the existing states, but by the appearance of a new state, of a new species, in a new part of the globe. It has made as great a change in all the relations and balances and gravitations of power as the appearance of a new planet would in the system of a solar world." Thus was the humiliation of our successful revolt tempered to the Motherland by pride in the State created by her children. If we claim heritage in Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton, we also acknowledge that it was for liberties guaranteed Englishmen by sacred charters our fathers triumphantly fought. While wisely rejecting throne and caste and privilege and an Established Church in their new-born state, they adopted the substance of English liberty and the body of English law. Closer relations with England than with other lands, and a common language rendering easy interchanges of criticisms and epithet, sometimes irritate and offend, but the heart of republican America beats with responsive pulsations to the hopes and aspirations of the people of Great Britain.

The grandeur and beauty of this spectacle are the eloquent witnesses of peace and progress. The Parthenon and the cathedral exhausted the genius of the ancient and the skill of the medieval architects in housing the statue or spirit of Deity. In their ruins or their antiquity they are mute protests against the merciless enmity of nations, which forced art to flee to the altar

for protection. The United States welcome the sister republics of the southern and northern continents, and the nations and peoples of Europe and Asia, of Africa and Australia, with the products of their lands, of their skill, and of their industry, to this city of yesterday, yet clothed with royal splendor as the Queen of the Great Lakes. The artists and architects of the country have been bidden to design and erect the buildings which shall fitly illustrate the height of our civilization and the breadth of our hospitality. The peace of the world permits and protects their efforts in utilizing their powers for man's temporal welfare. The result is this Park of Palaces. The originality and boldness of their conceptions, and the magnitude and harmony of their creations, are the contributions of America to the oldest of the arts and the cordial bidding of America to the peoples of the earth to come and bring the fruitage of their age to the boundless opportunities of this unparalleled exhibition.

If interest in the affairs of this world is vouchsafed to those who have gone before, the spirit of Columbus hovers over us today. Only by celestial intelligence can it grasp the full significance of this spectacle and ceremonial.

From the first century to the fifteenth counts for little in the history of progress, but in the period between the fifteenth and the twentieth are crowded the romance and reality of human development. Life has been prolonged, and its enjoyment intensified. The powers of the air and the water, the resistless force of the elements, which in the time of the discoverer were the visible terrors of the wrath of God, have been subdued to the service of man. Art and luxuries which could be possessed and enjoyed only by the rich and noble, the works of genius which were read and understood only by the learned few, domestic comforts and surroundings beyond the reach of lord or bishop, now adorn and illuminate the homes of our citizens. Serfs are sovereigns and the people are kings. The trophies and splendors of their reign are commonwealths, rich in every attribute of the great states, and united in a Republic whose power and prosperity, and liberty and enlightenment, are the wonder and admiration of the world.

All hail, Columbus, discoverer, dreamer, hero, apostle. We here, of every race and country, recognize the horizon which bounded his vision and the infinite scope of his genius. The

voice of gratitude and praise for all the blessings which have been showered upon mankind by his adventure is limited to no language, but is uttered in every tongue. Neither marble nor brass can fitly form his statue. Continents are his monuments, and unnumbered millions, present and to come, who enjoy in their liberties and happiness the fruits of his faith, will reverently guard and preserve, from century to century, his name and fame.

BIRTHDAY OF LINCOLN

ADDRESS AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTHDAY OF ABRAHAM
LINCOLN, AT BURLINGTON, VERMONT, FEBRUARY 12, 1895.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The pleasure of appearing before you this afternoon is great, but marred by circumstances. I had supposed the occasion was to be the usual recreation for a busy man of the after-dinner speech which pleasantly occupies the mind without tiring it. To have it transformed into an afternoon address or oration means a preparation, or the use of the Horatian method of the file and thumb-nail, and my conditions made that impossible. You will pardon the absence of formality and accept the earnestness with which I approach a subject so grand in itself as the hero whose memory we celebrate, and principles so enduring and vivifying as those of the party of which he is the greatest ornament.

The tendency in all times has been for the people to grow so far apart from their national heroes that the hero becomes impossible. We cannot live with perfection; we cannot have the *camaraderie* of personal communion with saints. The force and effect of continuing leadership is to be in touch with the leader. We have idealized already the worthies of the revolutionary period, and especially Washington, so that they are out of the pale of humanity. To us they never possessed the foibles and weaknesses common to our race. I doubt if Washington ever did. I had occasion at the time of the Centennial to study closely his character and career. It was impossible to lower him to any plane where a horizontal view could be had of him. In the camp and in the Cabinet, in the Continental Convention and around the campfire, in the midst of his soldiers, or at the mess with his staff, he was always the same dignified, majestic, unapproachable figure. For the times in which he lived, for the mission to which he was destined, these lofty characteristics were appropriate. The Revolution knew little of the fierce democracy. The classes and the masses were distinctly defined and separated. The pride of birth, of ancestry and landed proprietorship was never more dis-

tinctly asserted and never more generally recognized. It is probable that for the purpose of bringing the wealth and the intelligence of the country to the support of the patriot cause it was necessary that one of this class who was infinitely superior to his fellows, and whose aim and ambition were only his country and its liberties, should lead the movement. The processes of the evolution of democracy for one hundred years had created a condition where Washington would have been a failure in the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln, his opposite in every respect, because he was so different, was the most successful leader of any revolution of modern or ancient times.

As we study the characteristics which made Lincoln great and successful, we find them not in the usual gifts of great statesmen. Others have been more cultured, others have had more genius, others have had more experience and training, but none of any time had as the motive power of every action an indomitable and resistless moral force. You may call it the principle of natural religion, or whatever you may. It was an instinct for the right, a comprehension of justice, a boundless sympathy and compassion, an intense and yearning love for his fellows and their welfare which knew neither rank nor race, but gathered within its boundless charity all mankind. The force and effect of this power in Lincoln can be best illustrated by the contrast between him and his great antagonist, Douglas. Douglas was born in Vermont; about him were all the influences of this liberty-loving and intelligent commonwealth; his father was a clergyman, a college graduate, a man of brains and culture, and his mother a worthy helpmeet for her minister husband. Every authority of environment and atmosphere was for right, justice, and liberty. His struggles with poverty were not those which enervate or degrade, but those which inspire men of fiber, energy, ambition and genius to the efforts which make a career. His natural abilities, trained in the best of schools, made him a teacher, a lawyer, a judge, a legislator, a senator, and the leader of his party. It made him the ablest of debaters in the United States Senate, the most formidable of foes upon the platform in a political campaign, and the most adroit of politicians in framing issues which should capture or mislead the people. In any condition of the country's affairs, when great moral questions were not at issue, Stephen A. Douglas would have been President. Lincoln, on the other hand,

was born in a slave State, the son of a poor white, and lived during his early youth in a cabin of one room, under conditions of abject poverty and ignorance. His mother died, his shiftless father moved to Indiana, a log cabin was erected which had neither partitions nor floors and scarcely windows or doors, a few acres were cleared to get the bare necessities of life, and almost at the period of manhood Lincoln had no education, was dressed in skins, was associated with semi-savages who relieved the hard conditions of their lives by brutal debauches and equally brutal fights among themselves, and yet he remained uncontaminated by the drinking, swearing, idle loafers, roughs or thugs who constituted his companionship. His energies would be shown occasionally with his enormous strength in protecting the weak or rescuing the defeated, and a promise of his future powers given by holding spellbound at times his rough auditors by his rustic eloquence, or entertaining them at night with his endless fund of anecdote, drollery, and mimicry. An insatiable craving for knowledge led him to learn to read and to write. The only books within miles about him were Robinson Crusoe, a short history of the United States, Weems's Life of Washington, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. These he soon knew by heart. This master of the English tongue, this most felicitous of phrase makers, this most eloquent of speakers, framed his sentences and formed his style by writing compositions with charcoal upon a wooden shovel or shingles from the mill. A clerk in a store on starvation wages, a storekeeper without capital, and his business sold out by the sheriff, a surveyor earning ten or fifteen dollars a month, and a lawyer with no other equipment than Blackstone and the statutes of Illinois—such was Lincoln at a period when the accomplished and cultured Douglas was already the idol of his State. And yet thus, on the threshold of a career, with such surroundings, such teachings and such impressions, in the midst of a community which drank, Lincoln was a temperance man; in the midst of a community that swore, Lincoln was free from blasphemy; in the midst of a community not highly moral, Lincoln was as pure as an angel; in the midst of a community which regarded the negro as no better than the horse or the mule, Lincoln was an abolitionist.

Sailing down the Mississippi River upon a flat boat, with a crew composed of his rough comrades, who boasted they were

half horse and half alligator, who anchored at night for roystering riots in the villages and continued them when they reached New Orleans, Lincoln was apart from them, while of them. He wandered one day into the slave market and saw a young girl put up at auction. He witnessed the brutal examination of her by the buyers and spectators, the coarse jokes that were exchanged in the crowd and the cynical beastliness of the auctioneer, and the slumbering fire of moral and religious wrath planted in him by his mother, or inherited from some saintly ancestor, broke out with the declaration, "If I live, the day will come when I will hit slavery a blow from which it shall perish." That slave girl on the block aroused the moral forces within him which kept him from the temptations of his environment and made him the hero and the martyr of liberty.

The peoples in all ages have loved gladiatorial combats, whether of the mind or muscle. The keen delight of the Greek in the contests of his orators, and of the Roman in the bloody fights of his gladiators, illustrated the principle. The debate between Douglas, the leader of his party and inventor of the phrase, "popular sovereignty," which was to stand both for the principle and the policy that would save that party from being overwhelmed by the rising spirit of liberty in the country, and possible President of the United States, and a man who, though unknown, excited interest because the Republican Party in his State deemed him worthy to be placed against the champion, was a picture which made Illinois the battle ground of freedom. If Lincoln had possessed less of this controlling moral principle—if he had been actuated by the same motives which governed Douglas—if his God had been personal ambition rather than the welfare of the race, or the presidency rather than patriotism—he would not have defeated Douglas. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had thrown open the territories of the great Northwest to slavery. Douglas had met the rising tide of indignation and stemmed it by a proposition which apparently left the people of the territory to decide whether their institutions should be free or slave. The decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case had shown that this alleged principle was a flimsy pretext. Nevertheless it was generally accepted. The South was committed to slavery and regarded its extension as necessary to the existence of the system. The business of the North was bound up in the preserva-

tion of slavery. The press and the pulpit were largely with their congregations, their constituencies, and their readers. "Abolitionist" was a term of reproach and opprobrium. "Anti-slavery" was little better. To touch slavery was to touch the Union, and to touch the Union was to imperil the Republic, and so slavery became the cornerstone of the Republic. The Declaration of Independence was an empty sound for Fourth of July declamations and assaults upon the monarchical systems of other countries. Lincoln wrote his speech. He read it to the leaders of his party. It was based upon this thought, couched in these words, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, north as well as south." The leaders of the party with one voice said, "That speech defeats you and elects Douglas." "Ah!" said Lincoln, "I know that, but I am looking beyond Douglas and beyond the Senatorship. That sentiment appeals to the conscience of the North against the extension of slavery in the territories and against the system of slavery." It was the gauntlet of liberty thrown into the arena which began the battle that ended with the publication of the Proclamation of Emancipation.

There never was another such President, never another such ruler as Abraham Lincoln. He did not represent hereditary privileges, for he came from the plainest of the plain people; he did not represent heredity, for he had none; he did not represent colleges or universities, for he knew them not; he did not represent capital and great accumulations, for he had neither; but he did represent the toiler upon the farm, in the workshop, upon the highway, in the factory, anywhere, everywhere where honest men and honest women were striving to better their conditions and to illustrate the dignity of labor and the nobility of American citizenship. Without this touch with the plain people his ability, his genius, would have made him distrusted, for it may be taken as almost an axiom that there is no career for great genius by

popular vote. He knew the country, the limitations of his power, how far and how fast the administration could go in the great struggle, better than the Cabinet, or Congress, or journalists, or advisers. "Call for troops to suppress the rebellion," shouted the northern press, northern pulpit, and northern representatives in Congress. But Lincoln said, with adoration for the Constitution and its strict interpretation and for the Union, and with the dread of its dissolution, the flag must be assailed before we can make response. Against the advice of every member of his Cabinet he said, "Let us send provisions to the beleaguered United States soldiers heroically defending the flag in Charleston Harbor." The unarmed provision ship was driven back, the flag fired upon, the fort captured; the plain people who were his constituents then understood the situation, and millions of soldiers responded to his call.

Mr. Greeley thundered in the *Tribune*, Mr. Sumner in the Senate, the clergymen in their pulpits, and the orators upon the platform, that he should destroy the confederacy at once by freeing the slaves. He knew as no other man did the strength and power of the feeling which had grown up in the country of the sort of sacredness that hedged about property in slaves. But when defeat after defeat came, when there was despair of the result, when the future of the Republic looked dark, when the people had been educated to regard the Union as more sacred than slavery, then he promulgated his immortal proclamation. Other Presidents and other rulers have deemed their full duty performed in their annual communications to their congresses or their parliaments, but Lincoln every day was addressing letters by which he was counseling and arguing with the people upon the questions of the hour, the perils of the country, and the duties and dangers that were before him. Now he writes to Mr. Greeley, now to the workingmen of Manchester, now to the workingmen of New York, now to a State Convention, now to a convocation of clergymen; but always to the people of the United States. Whenever his great brain and his great heart welled up so that he seemed about to be suffocated by the difficulties of the situation, and by the impossibility of solving his problems, Lincoln poured his troubles out to the people of the United States, and asked for their sympathy, their advice, and their support. The appeal was never made in vain. Politicians raved against him,

and said that his utterances were unwise and his actions indiscreet. Earnest men, who had the cause at heart, called conventions to prevent his renomination, and then to defeat him for reelection, but the plain people with whom he had been talking as with familiar friends, whose homes he had entered, at whose firesides he had sat, by whose bedsides he had talked, in whose inmost circles and in the midst of whose family prayers he had been, responded with an overwhelming support which gave him again the Presidency, and practically by the unanimous voice of the people.

Lincoln knew nothing of the dignity, as expressed in manner and dress, which belongs to high station. The instinctive sense of propriety and consciousness of superiority and greatness which hedged Washington was absent in him. In our time, in the fierce light of our publicity, with the scintillations of electricity rendering brilliant every nook and corner and cranny of a public man's existence and thought, the temptations to enlarge the wreath which the people place upon his head are almost irresistible. The test of greatness is the wearing of the halo. It destroyed Napoleon, it ruined two-thirds of the generals in our Civil War, it has driven great and little politicians, from the birth of our Republic until now, into obscurity. But Lincoln was never troubled as to the size of his head. He never overestimated nor underestimated who he was, what he was, nor what he represented. He never forgot from whence he came, and never lost sight of the fact that except by the accident of position he was neither better nor worse than those who placed him in the presidential chair. He possessed what no other ruler ever did, or, if he did, dared to use, the power of humor. The portentous solemnity of our public men pervades our political atmosphere, even to depressing melancholy. The less the statesman knows the more solemn he is, the thicker his head, the more owlish his bearing. A President of the United States once said to me: "No man can ever succeed in this country who gives rein to his humor or his fun. The people no longer look upon him as a serious man, and only serious men are recognized in the consideration of public affairs."

When Mr. Lincoln came to Washington he was unknown to the great leaders of the party. He had the courage, which only a very great man can have, to summon them all into his Cabinet. The rule has been growing to invite only lesser men into the

Cabinet. In modern times as soon as the President has selected his constitutional advisers the whole detective agency of the newspapers is set to work to find out who they are, whence they come, and what they have done. The village attorney, the village scribe, the local philosopher bound upon the national platform with theories as broad as their environment, and as useful. The process has the merit of elevating the chief by the depreciation of his subordinates. Lincoln believed in most harmonious pictures. Napoleon, surrounded by the Marshals of France, every one of them a hero of a great battle, every one of them the demonstrated leader of a mighty army, himself the acknowledged chief and leader of them all, formed a picture that commanded the admiration of his time and has arrested the attention of posterity. This Illinois lawyer, orator, and statesman called to his aid the men who had demonstrated in the Senate, in the House, and in the Courts that they were the leaders of men. What a spectacle! This ungainly giant of the West, angular and awkward, uncouth of manner, inelegant of address, with the courtly Seward for Secretary of State, the stately Chase for Secretary of the Treasury, the worldly, dominant and shrewd Cameron for Secretary of War, and the imperious Stanton as his successor! Chase turns to his friends and intimates that the country has a mountebank for President. Seward, ever anxious to be useful, writes a private note offering to perform all the duties of the Presidency and leave the ornaments of its name and station to Lincoln. He receives in reply a letter which ignores the insult but says in effect, "I will run the administration and you run your department, except when I think that you had better run it in some other way." In less than a year every one of those great leaders recognized that he was in the presence of his chief and superior.

Lincoln under other conditions might have made a great playwright, or he might have been a great actor. He was unconsciously dramatic. His disappearance at Harrisburg, on the way to Washington for the first inauguration, his reappearance at the Capital when the thugs were waiting to assassinate him, was a dramatic surprise which excited the whole country. His appointment of Hooker to the command of the Army of the Potomac, in a letter which told him plainly his weaknesses and his failures and the reasons why he ought not to have the responsibility of the command placed upon him, was both a comedy and a tragedy.

His offer to McClellan to borrow his army if he only knew what to do with it, as it was apparent McClellan did not know, was one of those strokes of genius in expression which removed the popular idol and broke it. A messenger summoned the Cabinet to the White House. The first to enter was the stately, the dignified, the always proper Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase. The President looked up from his book and said, "Mr. Chase, I was just reading a most interesting work, which I have enjoyed more than anything I have met with in a long time. Let me read you a part of it." And thereupon he began reading to him Artemus Ward's lecture on "Wax Figgers." The astonished and irritated Secretary of the Treasury, listening as the other members of the Cabinet gathered, indignantly exclaimed, "Mr. President, we did not come here to hear this idiotic nonsense. For what are we summoned?" Mr. Lincoln put his hand in his drawer, pulled out a paper and said, "Gentlemen, I summoned you to submit this paper; not to ask your advice as to whether I should issue it or not, because I intend to issue it no matter what your advice may be; but to ask suggestions as to its form." And he read to them the immortal Proclamation of Emancipation; the document which was to set four millions of human beings free; the document which was to relieve the Constitution from the curse of slavery; the document which was to make the Declaration of Independence for the first time in our history the vital force in the principles and in the policies of the United States; the document which was to remove the stain which made us a by-word and reproach among civilized people; the document which carried out in letter and spirit the vow made so many years before when the flat-boatman saw the girl sold in the shambles at New Orleans. A few suggestions were made, a few hesitating protests against the fierce determination of the President for publication, an earnest request for delay until a victory should come, and that most memorable of Cabinet meetings in the history of the United States adjourned, and as they filed out this incomprehensible President put the Proclamation of Emancipation back in the drawer and resumed the reading of Artemus Ward.

I remember as if it were yesterday an afternoon with Mr. Lincoln. I was but a boy, though Secretary of New York State. Horatio Seymour was the Democratic Governor, and the Legislature was Republican. The soldiers' vote was to be obtained.

The Republican Legislature would not trust the Governor, and the duty of collecting the soldiers' vote devolved upon me. Mr. Lincoln looked up as I pressed my way through the crowd in his reception room and said: "Well, Depew, what can I do for you?" I said: "Mr. President, I do not want anything; I am in Washington on a mission from our State to get from the armies our New York soldiers' vote, and I simply called to pay my respects." He said: "It is so rare that anyone comes here who wants nothing, please wait and I will get rid of these people in a few minutes." The room was soon emptied—the faithful "Jerry" was guarding the door—and on the lounge the tired President was rocking to and fro, holding his long knees in his arms and telling story after story to relieve his mind, and he said: "Depew, they say I tell a great many stories. I think I do. They say I lower the dignity of the presidential office by these broad anecdotes. Possibly that is true. But I have found, in the course of a long experience, that the plain people of the country take them as they are, and are more easily reached and influenced and argued with through the medium of a humorous illustration than in any other way."

While I was there Mr. John Ganson, of Buffalo, was a member of Congress. His face and his head were hairless and polished like a billiard ball. He was a Democrat, but supported the President. The conditions of the army were very blue in the East and in the West. Ganson came in one day and said: "Mr. President, I am risking my re-election in supporting your war measures. The campaign seems very unsatisfactory. Of course I will not give out anything you tell me. What is the situation at the front?" Mr. Lincoln, in his searching and sad way, looked at him for a moment as if he was about to reveal the secret of the whole army, and then tumbled Ganson out of the reception room by saying, "Ganson, how clean you shave." Lord Lyons, who was a bachelor, went up to announce the marriage of the Princess Alexandra. As is usual on such occasions, the Secretary of State had prepared a formal reply to the address of the English Minister. Mr. Lincoln fumbled in his pockets, and, unable to find Mr. Seward's courtly response, grasped Lord Lyons cordially by the hand and said, "Lyons, go thou and do likewise."

As I sat in his room that afternoon, it was not Congressmen who crowded about him, it was not Senators, but it was wives

and mothers who wanted to get to the front, and whom the War Department would not permit to go where their loved ones lay wounded in the hospitals. It was wives and mothers and fathers pleading for husbands and sons condemned to be shot. Few petitioners for mercy ever left Lincoln with their petitions not granted. I was dining one night with General Sherman, and, except Mr. Choate and myself, all the guests were commanders of armies in the war. They were all lamenting how Mr. Lincoln had impaired discipline by pardoning the men who had been court-martialed and condemned to be shot, and the proceedings of the court-martial approved by them, and finally Slocum said, "Sherman, what did you do?" That stern old warrior answered grimly, "I shot them first." But with Mr. Lincoln it was impossible to approve a death warrant. To the father pleading for his son he gave a respite, and, when the father wanted something more, his answer was, "If your boy lives till that sentence is carried out, he will be so old that the world will think Methuselah was a baby in years when he died." On his first visit to General Grant's headquarters the driver of the mules was arguing with his team in that picturesque fashion which the army teamster thinks can be best understood by the mule. Mr. Lincoln's rebuke of the blasphemy, which he detested, was unique. "My friend," said he, "are you an Episcopalian?" "No, Mr. President, I am a Methodist." "Oh!" said Mr. Lincoln, "I thought you were an Episcopalian, because my Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, sometimes talks that way, and he is a warden in the Episcopal Church in Auburn."

It is significant of our time and of the questions interesting to us, as we celebrate the birthday of this saviour of the Republic, this foremost of statesmen, this plainest and most honest of mortals, this most dignified, most humorous, most serious, most sad of men, this most gentle of human beings, this leader in his time and of all time of the Republican Party, that his first speech was for a protective tariff. He was first, last, and all the time an American; an American when Napoleon, invading Mexico, would have broken up the Union, an American when Great Britain would have interfered for the purpose of destroying the Republic—because, as Lord Salisbury said, we kept shop and were her rivals in business—an American in his earnest devotion to the Union and the Constitution, an American in his love

of liberty, an American in his belief that within the borders of the United States should be manufactured all that the people of the United States might require for themselves. He loved the Union above all things. He was the representative of the cult which was started by Daniel Webster. The world little knows what it owes to that great brain. "The Union, one and inseparable, now and forever" was the inspiration of the schools. It created a mighty wave of unreasoning worship of the Union. Lincoln absorbed it, Lincoln understood it. In his inaugural address—the first one—it was the Union; in his inaugural address—the second one—it was the Union, in all his letters and speeches it was the Union. It was the Union with slavery, or the Union without slavery, but always the Union of the States.

We cannot pass by this celebration, we cannot relegate again to the books and the libraries this heroic and majestic figure without enforcing by his example and teachings the sentiment of the hour. There are always great crises coming periodically in the history of nations. The Revolutionary War gave us our Republic. The debates with Hayne and with Douglas gave us the love of union. The Civil War ended slavery, and now it is the mighty contest of industrial forces, of economic principles, of the proper relations of the currency and the credit of the United States to its trade and credit in other countries, upon which are builded our hopes or our fears. We have had a civil war in which no blood has been shed, but there have been more desolated homes, more closed industries, more sacrifices of property, more ruin and misery than was occasioned by the war from 1861 to 1865. This has been caused by the same forces, springing largely from the same territory, coming largely from the same pale of intelligence and motives in different sections as that which precipitated the great struggle. The generation that followed the Civil War knew what the Democratic Party in power meant, and kept it in the minority for a quarter of a century. The world is fond of experiments, and experiments run in cycles. What has been will be. So, after thirty years we have tried the Democratic Party in power once more. We gave them the Presidency and Congress, and we have had repeated, industrially and financially, the experiences of the Democratic Party in power, as it was evidenced in their rule prior to 1860. The Democratic Party stands for nothing national. Its principles in the East are antag-

onistic to its principles in the West. Its ideas in the West are hostile to its ideas in the South, and its views on the Pacific Coast have no relations to its principles or ideas or views anywhere else in the country.

Mr. Lincoln might have lived and added to his greatness by a speedier settlement of the issues which arose out of the Civil War. Mr. Cleveland was President for four years without power, and had he never been re-elected, with a Democratic Party on his hands, he might, with the halo which was thrown around him, have gone down to posterity as one of the great Presidents of the country. But Cleveland was re-elected and did have the Democratic Party on his hands, and what might have been is not, and Cleveland is not regarded as one of the great Presidents of the country.

We have won our victory. It is the victory of returning common sense, the victory of experience over hope. We are not yet out of the woods. The Republican Party can only hold the country where it is and prevent further damage until it assumes the responsibilities of power. The difficulty with the Democracy is not only of inexperience, but of incompetence. The evolution of the student is first his devotion to phrases, and the more vague they may be the more wise they seem, and from the phrase he comes to theory. The theory makes him a skeptic in religion and a mugwump in politics. Then he either settles down to the stern realities of life and successful solutions of his problems, or he becomes bankrupt in business and in faith. The Democratic Party captured the country by the phrases "free raw materials," "the tariff is a tax," "the markets of the world." We have lost the markets of the world, we have little left to tax and our raw materials and manufactured articles and labor are all free, because there are so few purchasers or employers. We are governed by the party which gave us the Gorman tariff, which has left solvent only the business upon which Republican protection is continued, the party which reversed the good old policy that you should pay your debts with money which you earned, and adopted the new one of paying them with borrowed money. Micawber is its financial authority. That party is suspending credit by the eyelids and business by the hair in the effort to solve the currency problem, which needs little better solution than to leave it alone. After thousands of years of hopeless experiments the Democratic

leaders are still striving to square the circle and lift one's self over the stone wall by the straps of one's boots; they are still striving to pay debts without assets; still striving to give money where none has been earned and distribute currency where there is no property to exchange for it; still striving to give value to the air and to coin and mint theories, and they have reduced the national credit so that the Government has to pay three and three-quarters per cent. interest where the citizen can borrow for three per cent.

Against all this the Republican Party puts in practice the maxims of "Poor Richard" and the principles which have made commercial nations prosperous and commercial peoples rich. This is not the time nor is there occasion for despair. The hand of the Republican engineer is on the throttle, and the train can no longer run away. The conductor can stop the momentum or side-track the cars, but the engineer will not let him derail them. The Republican House of Representatives is the living protest of the country against paralysis and despair, and it will hold the fort until in 1896 the relief comes and the country is saved. At the siege of Lucknow a handful of soldiers were defending their own lives and the lives of their wives and little ones against the hordes of Sepoys about them. The food was giving out, the hunger belt was drawn closer; it seemed that the day of relief and salvation would never come. Suddenly the keen ears of the Scotch woman heard the distant bagpipes, and she shouted: "Dinna ye hear the slogan? It is Havelock and his Highlanders." "Dinna ye hear the slogan?" It came in the last election and gave the Republicans the House of Representatives. "Dinna ye hear the slogan?" It came from the breaking of the solid South. "Dinna ye hear the slogan?" It came from Missouri, from Maryland, from Tennessee, from West Virginia. "Dinna ye hear the slogan?" It is the marching of the army which answered once, "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more," to the victory of 1896. Then the Republican Senate will respond to the Republican House, and the Republican House will respond to the Republican President, and the country will receive prosperity, happiness, and peace.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

ORATION AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD,¹ NEW YORK HARBOR, OCTOBER 28, 1886.

WE dedicate this statue to the friendship of nations and the peace of the world.

The spirit of liberty embraces all races in common brotherhood; it voices in all languages the same needs and aspirations. The full power of its expansive and progressive influence cannot be reached until wars cease, armies are disbanded, and international disputes are settled by lawful tribunals and the principles of justice. Then the people of every nation, secure from invasion and free from the burden and menace of great armaments, can calmly and dispassionately promote their own happiness and prosperity. The marvelous development and progress of this Republic is due to the fact that in rigidly adhering to the advice of Washington for absolute neutrality and non-interference in the politics and policies of other governments, we have avoided the necessity of depleting our industries to feed our armies, of taxing and impoverishing our resources to carry on war, and of limiting our liberties to concentrate power in our Government. Our great civil strife, with all its expenditure of blood and treasure, was a terrible sacrifice for freedom. The results are so immeasurably great that by comparison the cost is insignificant. The development of liberty was impossible while she was shackled to the slave. The divine thought which intrusted to the conquered the full measure of home rule, and accorded to them an equal share of imperial power, was the inspiration of God. With sublime trust it left to liberty the elevation of the freedman to political rights and the conversion of the rebel to patriotic citizenship.

The rays from this torch illuminate a century of unbroken

¹The statue, a colossal figure 151 feet high, formed of bronze plates on an iron framework, on a granite pedestal 155 feet high, stands on Bedloe's Island in New York Bay. It represents a woman draped in Greek tunic and mantle, her head crowned with a diadem, holding a torch in her uplifted right hand. The features are said to be modeled from the face of the mother of the sculptor, Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (1834-1904). The pedestal is by Richard M. Hunt (1828-1895).—Ed.

friendship between France and the United States. Peace with its opportunities for material progress and the expansion of popular liberties send from here a fruitful and noble lesson to all the world. It will teach the people of all countries that in curbing the ambitions and dynastic purposes of princes and privileged classes, and in cultivating the brotherhood of man, lies the true road to their enfranchisement. The friendship of individuals, their unselfish devotion to each other, their willingness to die in each other's stead, are the most tender and touching of human records; they are the inspiration of youth and the solace of age; but nothing human is so beautiful and sublime as two great peoples of alien race and language transmitting down the ages a love begotten in gratitude, and strengthening as they increase in power and assimilate in their institutions and liberties.

The French alliance which enabled us to win our independence is the romance of history. It overcame improbabilities impossible in fiction, and its results surpass the dreams of imagination. The most despotic of kings, surrounded by the most exclusive of feudal aristocracies, sending fleets and armies officered by the scions of the proudest of nobilities to fight for subjects in revolt and the liberties of the common people, is a paradox beyond the power of mere human energy to have wrought or solved. The march of this medieval chivalry across our States—respecting persons and property as soldiers never had before; never taking an apple or touching a fence rail without permission and payment; treating the ragged Continentals as if they were knights in armor and of noble ancestry; captivating our grandmothers by their courtesy and our grandfathers by their courage—remains unequaled in the poetry of war. It is the most magnificent tribute in history to the volcanic force of ideas and the dynamitic power of truth, though the crust of the globe imprison them. In the same ignorance and fearlessness with which a savage plays about a powder magazine with a torch, the Bourbon King and his Court, buttressed by the consent of centuries and the unquestioned possession of every power of the State, sought relief from cloying pleasures, and vigor for enervated minds, in permitting and encouraging the loftiest genius and the most impassioned eloquence of the time to discuss the rights and liberties of man. With the orator the themes were theories which fired only his imagination, and with a courtier they were pastimes or jests. Neither speakers

nor listeners saw any application of these ennobling sentiments to the common mass and groveling herd, whose industries they squandered in riot and debauch, and whose bodies they hurled against battlement and battery to gratify ambition or caprice. But these revelations illuminated many an ingenuous soul among the young aristocracy, and with distorted rays penetrated the Cimmerian darkness which enveloped the people. They bore fruit in the heart and mind of one youth to whom America owes much and France everything—the Marquis de Lafayette.

As the centuries roll by and in the fulness of time the rays of Liberty's torch are the beacon lights of the world, the central niches in the earth's Pantheon of Freedom will be filled by the figures of Washington and Lafayette. The story of this young French noble's life is the history of the time which made possible this statue, and his spirit is the very soul of this celebration. He was the heir of one of the most ancient and noble families of France; he had inherited a fortune which made him one of the richest men in his country; and he had enlarged and strengthened his aristocratic position by marriage, at the early age of sixteen, with a daughter of the ducal house of Noailles. Before him were pleasure and promotion at court, and the most brilliant opportunities in the army, the state, and the diplomatic service. He was a young officer of nineteen, stationed at Metz, when he met, at the table of his commander, the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George the Third. The Duke brought news of an insurrection which had broken out in the American colonies, and read, to the amazement of his hearers, the strange dogmas and fantastic theories which these "insurgents," as he called them, had put forth in what they styled their Declaration of Independence. That document put in practice the theories which Jefferson had studied with the French philosophers. It fired at once the train which they had laid in the mind of this young nobleman of France. Henceforth his life was dedicated to "Liberty Enlightening the World." The American Commissioners at Paris tried to dissuade this volunteer by telling him that their credit was gone, that they could not furnish him transportation, and by handing him the dispatches announcing the reverses which had befallen Washington, the retreat of his disheartened and broken army across New Jersey, the almost hopeless condition of their cause. But he replied in these memorable words: "Thus far you

have seen my zeal only; now it shall be something more. I will purchase and equip a vessel myself. It is while danger presses that I wish to join your fortunes." The King prohibits his sailing—he eludes the guards sent for his arrest; his family interpose every obstacle, and only his heroic young wife shares his enthusiasm and seconds his resolution to give his life and fortune to liberty. When on the ocean battling with the captain who fears to take him to America, and pursued by British cruisers specially instructed for his capture, he writes to her this loving and pathetic letter: "I hope for my sake you will become a good American. This is a sentiment proper for virtuous hearts. Intimately allied to the happiness of the whole human family is that of America, destined to become the respectable and sure asylum of virtue, honesty, toleration, equality, and of tranquil liberty." Except the *Mayflower*, no ship ever sailed across the ocean from the Old World to the New carrying passengers of such moment to the future of mankind.

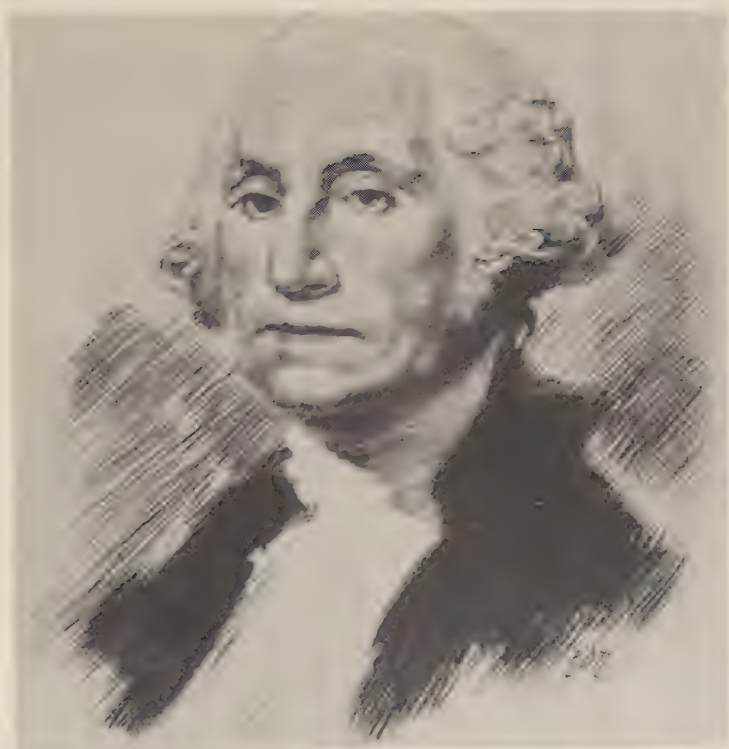
It is idle now to speculate whether our fathers could have succeeded without the French alliance. The struggle would undoubtedly have been infinitely prolonged and probably compromised. But the alliance assured our triumph, and Lafayette secured the alliance. The voyages of the fabled argosies of ancient and the armadas and fleets of modern times were commonplace compared with the mission enshrined in this inspired boy. He stood before the Continental Congress and said: "I wish to serve you as a volunteer and without pay," and at twenty took his place with Gates and Greene and Lincoln as a Major-general in the Continental Army. As a member of Washington's military family, sharing with that incomparable man his board and bed and blanket, Lafayette won his first and greatest distinction in receiving from the American chief a friendship closer than that bestowed upon any other of his compatriots, and which ended only in death. The great commander saw in the reckless daring with which he carried his wound to rally the flying troops at Brandywine, the steady nerve with which he held the column wavering under a faithless general at Monmouth, the wisdom and caution with which he maneuvered inferior forces in the face of the enemy, his willingness to share every privation of the ill-clad and starving soldiery, and to pledge his fortune and credit to relieve their privations, a commander upon whom he

could rely, a patriot whom he could trust, a man whom he could love.

The surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga was the first decisive event of the war. It defeated the British plan to divide the country by a chain of forts up the Hudson and conquer it in detail; it inspired hope at home and confidence abroad; it seconded the passionate appeals of Lafayette and the marvelous diplomacy of Benjamin Franklin; it overcame the prudent counsels of Necker, warning the King against this experiment, and won the treaty of alliance between the old Monarchy and the young Republic. Lafayette now saw that his mission was in France. He said, "I can help the cause more at home than here," and asked for leave of absence. Congress voted him a sword, and presented it with a resolution of gratitude, and he returned bearing this letter from that convention of patriots to his King: "We recommend this young nobleman to your Majesty's notice as one whom we know to be wise in council, gallant in the field, and patient under the hardships of war." It was a certificate which Marlborough might have coveted, and Gustavus might have worn as the proudest of his decorations. But though King and Court vied with each other in doing him honor; though he was welcomed as no Frenchman had ever been by triumphal processions in cities and fêtes in villages, by addresses and popular applause, he reckoned them of value only in the power they gave him to procure aid for Liberty's fight in America. "France is now committed to war," he argued, "and her enemy's weak point for attack is in America. Send there your money and men." And he returned with the army of Rochambeau and the fleet of De Grasse.

"It is fortunate," said De Maurepas, the Prime Minister, "that Lafayette did not want to strip Versailles of its furniture for his dear Americans, for nobody could withstand his ardor." None too soon did this assistance arrive, for Washington's letter to the American Commissioners in Paris passed it on the way, in which he made this urgent appeal: "If France delays a timely and powerful aid in the critical posture of our affairs, it will avail us nothing should she attempt it hereafter. We are at this hour suspended in the balance. In a word, we are at the end of our tether, and now or never deliverance must come." General Washington saw in the allied forces now at his disposal that the triumph of independence was assured. The long dark night of

GEORGE WASHINGTON



doubt and despair was illuminated by the dawn of hope. The material was at hand to carry out the comprehensive plans so long matured, so long deferred, so patiently kept. The majestic dignity which had never bent to adversity, that lofty and awe-inspiring reserve which presented an impenetrable barrier to familiarity, either in counsel or at the festive board, so dissolved in the welcome of these decisive visitors that the delighted French and the astounded American soldiers saw Washington for the first and only time in his life express his happiness with all the joyous effervescence of hilarious youth.

The flower of the young aristocracy of France, in their brilliant uniforms, and the farmers and frontiersmen of America, in their faded continentals, bound by a common baptism of blood, became brothers in the knighthood of Liberty. With emulous eagerness to be first in at the death, while they shared the glory, they stormed the redoubts at Yorktown, and compelled the surrender of Cornwallis and his army. While this practically ended the war, it strengthened the alliance and cemented the friendship between the two great peoples. The mutual confidence and chivalric courtesy which characterized their relations has no like example in international comity. When an officer from General Carleton, the British Commander-in-Chief, came to headquarters with an offer of peace and independence, if the Americans would renounce the French alliance, Washington refused to receive him; Congress spurned Carleton's secretary bearing a like message; and the States, led by Maryland, denounced all who entertained propositions of peace not approved by France as public enemies. And peace with independence meant prosperity and happiness to a people in the very depths of poverty and despair. France, on the other hand, though sorely pressed for money, said in the romantic spirit which permeated this wonderful union: "Of the twenty-seven millions of livres we have loaned you, we forgive you nine millions as a gift of friendship, and when with years there comes prosperity you can pay the balance without interest."

With the fall of Yorktown Lafayette felt that he could do more for peace and independence in the diplomacy of Europe than in the war in America. His arrival in France shook the Continent. Though one of the most practical and self-poised of men, his romantic career in the New World had captivated courts and peoples. In the formidable league which he had quickly

formed with Spain and France, England saw humiliation and defeat, and made a treaty of peace by which she recognized the independence of the Republic of the United States.

In this treaty were laid the deep, broad, and indestructible foundations for the great statue we this day dedicate. It left to the American people the working out of a problem of self-government. Without king to rule, or class to follow, they were to try the experiment of building a nation upon the sovereignty of the individual and the equality of all men before the law. Their only guide, and trust, and hope were God and Liberty. In the fraternal greetings of this hour sixty millions of witnesses bear testimony to their wisdom, and the foremost and freest Government in the world is their monument.

The fight for liberty in America was won. Its future here was threatened with but one danger—the slavery of the negro. The soul of Lafayette, purified by battle and suffering, saw the inconsistency and the peril, and he returned to this country to plead with State legislatures and with Congress for the liberation of what he termed “my brethren, the blacks.” But now the hundred years’ war for liberty in France was to begin.

America was its inspiration, Lafayette its apostle, and the returning French army its emissaries. Beneath the trees by day, and in the halls at night, at Mt. Vernon, Lafayette gathered from Washington the Gospel of Freedom. It was to sustain and guide him in after years against the temptations of power and the despair of the dungeon. He carried the lessons and the grand example through all the trials and tribulations of his desperate struggle and partial victory for the enfranchisement of his country. From the ship, on departing, he wrote to his great chief, whom he was never to see again, this touching good-by: “You are the most beloved of all the friends I ever had or shall have anywhere. I regret that I cannot have the inexpressible pleasure of embracing you in my own house and welcoming you in a family where your name is adored. Everything that admiration, respect, gratitude, friendship, and filial love can inspire is combined in my affectionate heart to devote me most tenderly to you. In your friendship I find a delight which no words can express.” His farewell to Congress was a trumpet-blast which resounded round a world then bound in the chains of despotism and caste. Every government on the Continent was an absolute monarchy, and

no language can describe the poverty and wretchedness of the people. Taxes levied without law exhausted their property; they were arrested without warrant to rot in the Bastille without trial, and were shot at as game and tortured without redress at the caprice or pleasure of their feudal lords. Into court and camp this message came like the handwriting on the wall at Belshazzar's feast. Hear his words: "May this immense temple of freedom ever stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind; and may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders." Well might Louis the Sixteenth, more far-sighted than his ministers, exclaim: "After fourteen hundred years of power the old Monarchy is doomed."

While the principles of the American Revolution were fermenting in France, Lafayette, the hero and favorite of the hour, was an honored guest at royal tables and royal camps. The proud Spaniard and the Great Frederick of Germany alike welcomed him, and everywhere he announced his faith in government founded on the American idea. The financial crisis in the affairs of King Louis on the one hand, and the rising tide of popular passion on the other, compelled the summons of the Assembly of Notables at Versailles. All the great officers of state, the aristocracy, the titled clergy, the royal princes were there, but no representative of the people. Lafayette spoke for them, and, fearless of the effort of the brother of the King to put him down, he demanded religious toleration, equal taxes, just and equal administration of the laws, and the reduction of royal expenditures to fixed and reasonable limits. This overturned the whole feudal fabric which had been in course of construction for a thousand years. To make effectual and permanent this tremendous stride toward the American experiment, he paralyzed the Court and Cabinet by the call for a National Assembly of the people. Through that Assembly he carried a Declaration of Rights, founded upon the natural liberties of man—a concession of popular privilege never before secured in the modern history of Europe; and going as far as he believed the times would admit toward his idea of an American Republic, he builded upon the ruins of absolutism a constitutional monarchy.

But French democracy had not been trained and educated in the schools of the Puritan or the Colonist. Ages of tyranny, of suppression, repression, and torture had developed the tiger and dwarfed the man. Democracy had not learned the first rudiments of liberty—self-restraint and self-government. It beheaded King and Queen, it drenched the land with the blood of the noblest and best; in its indiscriminate frenzy and madness it spared neither age nor sex, virtue nor merit, and drove its benefactor, because he denounced its excesses and tried to stem them, into exile and the dungeon of Olmutz. Thus ended in the horrors of the French Revolution Lafayette's first fight for liberty at home.

After five years of untold sufferings, spurning release at the price of his allegiance to monarchy, holding with sublime faith, amidst the most disheartening and discouraging surroundings, to the principles of freedom for all, he was released by the sword of Napoleon Bonaparte, to find that the untamed ferocity of the Revolution had been trained to the service of the most brilliant, captivating, and resistless of military despotisms by the mighty genius of the great Dictator. He only was neither dazzled nor dismayed, and when he had rejected every offer of recognition and honor, Napoleon said: "Lafayette alone in France holds fast to his original ideas of liberty. Though tranquil now, he will reappear if occasion offers." Against the First Consulate of Bonaparte he voted, "No, unless with guarantees of freedom." When Europe lay helpless at the feet of the conqueror, and in the frenzy of military glory France neither saw nor felt the chains he was forging upon her, Lafayette from his retirement of Lagrange pleaded with the Emperor for republican principles, holding up to him the retributions always meted out to tyrants, and the pure undying fame of the immortal few who patriotically decide, when upon them alone rests the awful verdict whether they shall be the enslavers or the saviors of their country.

The sun of Austerlitz set in blood at Waterloo; the swords of the allied Kings placed the Bourbon once more on the throne of France. In the popular tempest of July, the nation rose against the intolerable tyranny of the King, and, calling upon this unfaltering friend of liberty, said with one voice: "You alone can save France from despotism, on the one hand, and the orgies of the Jacobin mob, on the other; take absolute power; be mar-

shal, general, dictator, if you will." But, in assuming command of the National Guard, the old soldier and patriot answered, amidst the hail of shot and shell: "Liberty shall triumph, or we all perish together." He dethroned and drove out Charles the Tenth, and France, contented with any destiny he might accord to her, with unquestioning faith left her future in his hands. He knew that the French people were not yet ready to take and faithfully keep American liberty. He believed that in the school of constitutional government they would rapidly learn, and in the fulness of time adopt, its principles; and he gave them a king who was the popular choice, and surrounded him with the restraints of charter and an Assembly of the people. And now this friend of mankind, expressing with his last breath a fervent prayer that his beloved France might speedily enjoy the liberty and equality and the republican institutions of his adored America, entered peacefully into rest. United in a common sorrow and a common sentiment, the people of France and the people of the United States watered his grave with their tears and wafted his soul to God with their gratitude.

To-day, in the gift by the one, and the acceptance by the other, of this colossal statue, the people of the two countries celebrate their unity in republican institutions, in governments founded upon the American idea, and in their devotion to liberty. Together they rejoice that its spirit has penetrated all lands and is the hopeful future of all peoples. American liberty has been for a century a beacon light for the nations. Under its teachings, and by the force of its example, the Italians have expelled their petty and arbitrary princelings and united under a parliamentary government; the gloomy despotism of Spain has been dispelled by its representatives of the people and a free press; the great German race have demonstrated their power for empire and their ability to govern themselves. The Austrian monarch, who, when a hundred years ago Washington pleaded with him across the seas for the release of Lafayette from the dungeon of Olmutz, replied that "he had not the power," because the safety of his throne and his pledges to his royal brethren of Europe compelled him to keep confined the one man who represented the enfranchisement of the people of every race and country, is to-day, in the person of his successor, rejoicing with his subjects in the limitations of a Constitution which guarantees liberties, and a Congress which

protects and enlarges them. Magna Charta, won at Runnymede for Englishmen, and developing into the principles of the Declaration of Independence with their descendants, has returned to the mother country to bear fruit in an open Parliament, a free press, the loss of royal prerogative, and the passage of power from the classes to the masses.

The sentiment is sublime which moves the people of France and America, the blood of whose fathers, commingling upon the battle-fields of the Revolution, made possible this magnificent march of liberty and their own republics, to commemorate the results of the past and typify the hopes of the future in this noble work of art. The descendants of Lafayette, Rochambeau, and De Grasse, who fought for us in our first struggle, and Laboulaye, Henri Martin, De Lesseps, and other grand and brilliant men, whose eloquent voices and powerful sympathies were with us in our last, conceived the idea, and it has received majestic form and expression through the genius of Bartholdi.

In all ages the achievements of man and his aspirations have been represented in symbols. Races have disappeared and no record remains of their rise or fall, but by their monuments we know their history. The huge monoliths of the Assyrians and the obelisks of the Egyptians tell their stories of forgotten civilizations, but the sole purpose of their erection was to glorify rulers and preserve the boasts of conquerors. They teach sad lessons of the vanity of ambition, the cruelty of arbitrary power, and the miseries of mankind. The Olympian Jupiter enthroned in the Parthenon expressed in ivory and gold the awful majesty of the Greek idea of the King of the Gods; the bronze statue of Minerva on the Acropolis offered the protection of the patron Goddess of Athens to the mariners who steered their ships by her helmet and spear; and in the Colossus of Rhodes, famed as one of the Wonders of the World, the Lord of the Sun welcomed the commerce of the East to the city of his worship. But they were all dwarfs in size and pigmies in spirit beside this mighty structure and its inspiring thought. Higher than the monument in Trafalgar Square, which commemorates the victories of Nelson on the sea; higher than the Column Vendôme, which perpetuates the triumphs of Napoleon on the land; higher than the towers of the Brooklyn Bridge, which exhibit the latest and grandest results of science, invention, and industrial progress,

this Statue of Liberty rises toward the heavens to illustrate an idea which nerved the three hundred at Thermopylæ and armed the ten thousand at Marathon; which drove Tarquin from Rome, and aimed the arrow of Tell; which charged with Cromwell and his Ironsides, and accompanied Sidney to the block; which fired the farmer's gun at Lexington, and razed the Bastile in Paris; which inspired the charter in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, and the Declaration of Independence from the Continental Congress.

It means that with the abolition of privileges to the few, and the enfranchisement of the individual; the equality of all men before the law, and universal suffrage; the ballot secure from fraud, and the voter from intimidation; the press free, and education furnished by the State for all; liberty of worship, and free speech; the right to rise, and equal opportunity for honor and fortune; the problems of labor and capital, of social regeneration and moral growth, of property and poverty, will work themselves out under the benign influences of enlightened law-making and law-abiding liberty, without the aid of Kings and armies, or of anarchists and bombs.

Through the Obelisk,² so strangely recalling to us of yesterday the past of more than thirty centuries, a forgotten monarch says: "I am the great King, the Conqueror, the Chastiser of Nations," and except as a monument of antiquity it conveys no meaning and touches no chord of human sympathy. But, for unnumbered centuries to come, as Liberty levels up the people to higher standards and a broader life, this statue will grow in the admiration and affections of mankind. When Franklin drew the lightning from the clouds, he little dreamed that in the evolution of science his discovery would illuminate the torch of Liberty for France and America. The rays from this beacon, lighting this gateway to the continent, will welcome the poor and the persecuted with the hope and promise of homes and citizenship. It will teach them that there is room and brotherhood for all who will support our institutions and aid in our development; but that those who come to disturb our peace and dethrone our laws are aliens and enemies forever. I devoutly believe that from the Unseen and the Unknown, two great souls have come

²Popularly called Cleopatra's Needle, in Central Park, New York, where it was erected in 1881. It stood originally before the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, Egypt, about B.C. 1500. Its mate stands on the Thames Embankment, London.—Ed.

to participate in this celebration. The faith in which they died fulfilled, the cause for which they battled triumphant, the people they loved in the full enjoyment of the rights for which they labored and fought and suffered, the spirit voices of Washington and Lafayette join in the glad acclaim of France and the United States to Liberty Enlightening the World.

GRANT'S MAUSOLEUM

ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE GRANT
MAUSOLEUM AT RIVERSIDE PARK, NEW YORK, APRIL 27, 1892.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The predominant sentiment of General Grant was his family and his home. As son, husband, and father, his care and devotion were constant and beautiful. While visiting the capitals of the Old World, he had seen the stately mausoleums of their great soldiers or statesmen resting in the gloom of cathedral crypts, or the solitude of public places, far from the simpler graves of their kindred. Under St. Paul's he saw the massive tomb which encloses the remains of the Iron Duke. He was impressed by the grandeur of the Temple of the Invalides, the superb monument which France erected with so much pride and tenderness over the resting place of Napoleon. The perpetual ceremonial, the inhuman coldness, of these splendid tributes chilled and repelled him. He had shrunk all his life from display, and he desired to escape it after death. To lie in the churchyard where slept his father and mother would have been more in accord with his mind. But he appreciated that his countrymen had a claim upon his memory and the lessons of his life and fame. He knew that where he was buried, there they would build a shrine for the study and inspiration of coming generations.

He selected New York because it was the metropolis of the continent and the capital of the country, but he made one condition. No spot must be chosen which did not permit his wife to be by his side at the Resurrection. She had been the love of his youth, the companion and confidant of his maturer years. She had made the humble cottage at Galena, the camp, the White House, and the stately city residence, all equally his home. He would have no monument, however grand, which separated him from her during the unnumbered years of the hereafter. At Arlington he would have lain among the soldiers who had followed and revered their great commander, but at Riverside he will await the last trump with the partner of his life and the mother of his children.

A Westminster Abbey or a Pantheon is impossible with us. They are the indices of centralized power, and that is contrary to the spirit of our institutions. Paris has been France for centuries, and her thought and action have controlled the country. The nation has drifted helplessly in the turbulent current of the passions or purposes of the capital. London is the center of the policies and opinions of the British Empire. It is both the official and the real home of the Government, and also of the business, the intellectual and the political movements in the dominions of the Queen. But our nationality is a sentiment which cannot be localized by symbol. The vast territory of the Republic, the diverse interests of sections, and the strength of cities which focalize local opinions or prejudices, are disintegrating forces which will forever prevent the creation of a Walhalla in which shall be gathered the bones or erected the statues of those who, as soldiers, or statesmen, or citizens, have deserved the conspicuous recognition of their country.

The memory of our heroes, our patriots, and our men of genius is one of the strongest of the bonds that hold together our Union and perpetuate our power. But the altars upon which the fires of patriotism are ever burning are north, south, east, and west. Washington is at Mount Vernon, Lincoln at Springfield, Grant at New York, Sherman at St. Louis, and Jackson at the Hermitage. Jefferson is at Monticello, and Adams at Quincy, Irving rests among the scenes immortalized by his pen at Sleepy Hollow, and Longfellow amid the inspirations of his muse at Cambridge. Every State cherishes the remains of its citizens, whose illustrious achievements are the glory of the country and the pride of their commonwealth, whose works and lives are ever-living lessons of love and devotion to the flag and Constitution of the United States.

New York, in accepting this bequest of General Grant, has assumed a sacred trust. Upon no municipality and its citizens ever devolved a more solemn duty. From the tenderest motives, he took from the National Government the task which it would most loyally and lovingly have performed, and intrusted it to this great city. The whole country is enlisted in the army of reverence and sorrow, but he appointed New York the Guard of Honor. Let the monument which will rise upon this corner-stone be worthy of the magnitude of the metropolis and the grandeur

of the subject. General Grant needs no stately shaft or massive pile to perpetuate his memory. The Republic is his monument, and its history during what must always be its most critical and interesting period will be the story of his deeds. But this memorial will continue for coming generations an object lesson, teaching the inestimable value of the Federal Union and the limitless range of American opportunity.

A phenomenon of our times, and one of the chief dangers to law and order, is the growth of the School of Despair. The concentrated contemplation of accumulated wealth, and the hopelessness of acquiring it, paralyzes industrial energies and true ambitions, and plants the seeds of socialism and anarchy. But Lincoln, from the poverty of the Kentucky cabin, and Grant from the narrow gifts of a log house in the Ohio wilderness, became the central figure and the representative heroes of our age. They are types of the glory of American citizenship. The rail-splitter of the backwoods, the country lawyer, the President who guided the ship of state with unequaled skill and courage through the breakers which imperiled its life, was in every position the same hopeful and dutiful Abraham Lincoln. The young captain in the Mexican War, the Missouri farmer himself harvesting and marketing the product of his scant acres, the Galena tanner living happily on six hundred dollars a year, the victorious commander of a million men, the President of the United States, the hero accepted as the guest and peer of the kings and emperors of the World, was, under conditions as humble as those of any of the mass of his fellow-citizens who were striving for a living, and greater and grander than those which have surrounded any of his countrymen, ever the same simple and loyal Ulysses S. Grant.

Only under free institutions are such examples possible. The avenues of preferment and opportunity must be open alike to all. These great Americans illustrate the processes by which masterful men forge to the front, and the less capable or industrious find their places in the ranks in every village and hamlet in the land. They did their best wherever they were, believing that their highest duty was to preserve the liberty and the laws which barred no man's way, and which protected and punished alike the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak. The secret of good citizenship and earnest effort is to be contented, but never

satisfied. All the Presidents of the United States since General Washington have been poor men. This is singular in a nation so intent upon the pursuit of wealth. It demonstrates that there are other paths to power, distinction, and happiness than the one upon which we are pushing so madly. It reduces it almost to an axiom that the roads to great fortunes and to the Presidency are not coincident.

The schools cannot create heroes. They train and discipline faculties as to which only opportunity can reveal whether they are the gifts of a great commander. We have learned confidently to rely upon the man appearing when the emergency demands him. But until then he stands in the rear ranks.

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

It is the paradox of preparation for the mastery of great events, that those who have been most conspicuously in control of the Government, or the army, have rarely been equal to the demands of revolution or rebellion. Von Moltke is almost alone among eminent soldiers in having exhibited in youth the promise so gloriously fulfilled in his prime. Cæsar was a dissipated dandy. Wellington was a dull boy. The only record of Napoleon at St. Cyr beyond the average was that he was "very healthy." Grant preferred farming to the army, and entered West Point with reluctance. Standing near the middle of his class, he neither secured the attention of those above, nor aroused the envy of the cadets below him in scholarship. Neither instructors nor fellow-students saw in the sergeant, reduced to the ranks, the germs of the first strategist of his time. As mighty convulsions of nature break channels, and bring sources of supply to subterranean streams converted by the earthquake into great rivers, so the reserve powers and latent forces of some men are brought into action only by the gravest responsibilities and grandest crises. Seward, Chase, and Sumner were the leaders of the dominant opinion of their period. They possessed lifelong experience in public affairs, and had won and deserved universal fame. Seward was a great senator and a greater foreign minister. He has had few equals as a diplomatist since Talleyrand. Chase possessed

rare judgment and a creative intelligence of the highest order. Sumner added to unequaled learning and culture the gifts of superb oratory, fired by the profoundest convictions and emotions for human liberty. The calm retrospect of the present clearly sees that either of them would have proved a tragical failure in the fearful perils and terrible ordeals so marvelously controlled by the unknown Lincoln.

The Civil War demonstrated that our country was singularly rich in excellent brigade, division, and corps commanders. It developed three or four officers capable of initiating and conducting military operations with immense forces and on a large field, but only one general. The more graphic and bloody pictures of the War were the hapless fields, where the veteran victors of many a fight, when in command of twenty-five thousand men, rode with reckless courage and dazed minds amid the confusion arising from their inability to handle fifty thousand. The thinking bayonets of citizen soldiers, and the invincible courage characteristic of Americans, gave the Government the best armies that ever marched or fought. They were often under incompetent leaders, but never demoralized or discouraged. Though decimated by disease and their ranks thinned by useless slaughter, they never murmured or despaired. They had enlisted to save the Union, and when at last they had a commander capable of directing their energies and planning their movements, a general whose comprehensive mind grasped the situation over the whole country, and whose clear judgment discerned the weak points of the enemy, and the places where his own strength should be concentrated, they, at fearful sacrifice, but with unfailing faith, did save the Union.

The intellect which tired of the routine of a soldier's life in times of peace, which could not be roused to the successful management of a farm or a surveyor's office, which indifferently comprehended the duties of a clerk or junior in a merchant's firm, was clarified by grave perils and expanded under great responsibilities. Grant at forty was an unknown and unimportant citizen in a Western town, and at forty-two was the hope of the army, and the hero of the popular imagination. Self-confidence is the attribute of great men and of fools. By it the former illustrate their ability and the latter demonstrate their folly. The average mind needs and seeks both advice and assist-

ance. Grant was the most independent of generals, and the result placed him in the front rank of the great captains of the world. He rarely held councils of war, and never adopted their conclusions. He sometimes acted directly against the unanimous judgments of the assemblage. General Sherman once remarked: "I lay awake all night wondering where the enemy are, but Grant don't care where they are or what they are doing." This was because, having once prepared his plans with reference to every known contingency, he had so completely calculated his own resources and his adversary's, that he could not contemplate disaster and never knew defeat. After the capture of Fort Henry, Halleck, then commander-in-chief, advised him to fortify his position, and picks, shovels, and intrenching tools would be sent him. Instead, he marched upon Donelson. When all his officers were of opinion that a sally in force from the Fort was to be guarded against, he made up his mind from the full haversacks found on the Confederate dead that the enemy intended to retreat, and by ordering an immediate assault captured Donelson and gained his first real victory. When General Buell and other commanders remonstrated with him for moving from Pittsburg Landing, because there were not boats enough to carry over the river one-third of his force in case he was defeated, "There are more than sufficient to carry all there will be left of it," was the grim answer, and he marched to the victory of Shiloh. When General Sherman and all the able officers about him protested against the perilous movement to get below Vicksburg, and attack the city from the other side, because his army would be cut off from its base of supplies, "The North will cut off our supplies," he said, "unless we succeed"; and the Fourth of July, 1863, became one of the glorious days in the annals of war. For thirty days he led the Army of the Potomac through the Wilderness, hurling it against the intrenched positions of the enemy by day and moving it by night to assault fresh defenses in the morning. The country shuddered with horror at the carnage, and called for his removal; his officers were affected by the universal distrust of his movements; the mangled columns of troops, recoiling from the shot and shell which plowed through their ranks from impregnable fortifications, sometimes refused to attack again. But the response of the confident and imperturbable commander to his soldiers, was the ever-recurring order, "By

the left flank, forward," and to his countrymen, "I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Criticising cabinets, hostile congressmen, doubting generals, and distrustful people all surrendered with Lee at Appomattox.

No man can be truly great, unless he is also magnanimous. Grant was the most self-sacrificing of friends, and the most generous of foes. The underlying forces which stirred his feelings and prompted his actions were a profound sense of justice and ardent patriotism. The triumphant march from Atlanta to the sea had aroused the enthusiasm and captured the imagination of the people, who had been contemplating with sullen anger the losses in the Wilderness and the bloody but ineffectual battles about Richmond. They demanded that Sherman be placed in supreme command. Sherman, with that beautiful loyalty which he always showed to his chief, loudly protested and refused, but Grant calmly wrote, "No one would be more pleased at your advancement than I. I would make the same exertions to support you, that you have done to support me, and I would do all in my power to make our cause win." In the rapid reversals common to revolutions, after a few weeks Richmond had fallen and Grant was the popular hero, the terms offered to General Joe Johnston by Sherman had been contemptuously countermanded by the Secretary of War, and Grant had been sent to relieve Sherman and receive the submission of the last Confederate army. But Grant remained outside the camp, his visit known only to a few, while Sherman submitted the modified terms from Washington to Johnston, and received his sword. Not until years afterward did he, General Sherman, know that he had been superseded.

"Unconditional surrender, or I move immediately on your works," were the conditions Grant offered Buckner at Donelson; but in the darkness of the night he entered the prisoner's tent and said, "Buckner, you must have lost everything: take my purse." He had been for months making toilsome efforts to break through the Confederate lines, but after the surrender of their defenders he refused to go within them. The failure to capture the Confederate capital had exhausted the resources and impaired the reputation of all the generals who had preceded him, but when it lay prostrate at his feet he sternly declined the triumph of an entry at the head of his victorious army. A like temptation had

not been resisted by any conqueror of ancient or modern times. But General Grant said: "These people are now and will be hereafter our brethren and fellow-citizens, and they must not be humiliated."

It was difficult to win his confidence, but when once gained, his heart, his efforts, and his fortune were at command. Neither secret nor open enemies, neither direct charges nor anonymous revelations, could disturb his friendship for anyone he had once trusted. On that subject his mind was closed. In selecting commanders for armies or expeditions he seldom made an error of judgment. To Sherman and Sheridan he gave unstinted praise. Both in public and private he declared them to be the greatest generals of modern times. He was so entirely free from envy or jealousy, so enthusiastic in his admiration of these lieutenants, that he awarded to them the larger share of credit for the ultimate triumph of the Union cause. But these same qualities, so creditable to his ingenuous and generous nature, became the chief sources of his mistakes and troubles, when he was treading with untrained steps amid the quicksands of political and business life. Though he commanded forces more numerous, and maneuvered them over a territory more extensive than any general in wars among civilized nations; though his campaign resulted in the capture of all the armies opposed to him, and the submission of all the hostile States and people, yet some foreign military writers of eminence have assigned the higher rank among captains to Lee. But their judgment is biased, as with Wolseley, by service on his staff, or by enmity to the great Republic.

It is the fate of the defeated side in civil wars that one leader represents the lost cause, and all others are buried in oblivion. The world knows little, and remembers less, of those who represent dead issues or disastrous revolts. The civil side of the Confederacy will fill a small space in history, but the record of its military achievements will cover many pages. Its representative will be, not Jefferson Davis, but General Lee. No indefensible cause ever had so good a defender as this conscientious and capable leader, and few battles for the right a better one. He had been educated to believe that his loyalty was to his State against his country, and he gave to the service of the Confederacy the prestige of a patriotically historic name; the highest personal

character, and military genius of the first order. For three years he baffled the plans or routed the armies of successive Union commanders. It is true that he had fewer men, and more limited resources; it is true that he utilized his opportunities with the rarest skill and wisdom; but it is also true that with interior lines, and a friendly population, a general has great advantages. It neither detracts from the fame, nor impairs the estimate of this consummate soldier, that he was beaten by Grant. Great as he was, he had met a greater.

The culminating triumph of General Grant was that he received and returned the sword of Lee. The one act typified the victory and perpetuity of the Union, and the other that its defenders forever after would be those who, with equal and unequalled courage, had fought to save and to destroy it.

Grant's claims upon the gratitude of his countrymen are many. He will have peculiar remembrance for having, with President Lincoln, immediately recognized that the Republic must live as the fathers had founded it. American liberty is entrenched in the indissoluble Union of sovereign States, and cannot exist with subject provinces. Above Belmont and Donelson, above Shiloh and Vicksburg, above the campaign in the West and Appomattox in the East, rise the inestimable services which he rendered in the peace and reunion of his country, when he threw himself and his fame between President Andrew Johnson's scheme of vengeance and the Confederate leaders he had paroled, and when again he threatened to draw his sword to prevent a transfer by the same President to the same leaders, of the power they had lost and the Government they had tried to destroy.

The most brilliant jewels in his crown of glory will be that, though a conqueror in the field, he counseled through life, and advised with his pen when in his last hours his voice had failed, peace and reconciliation among his countrymen, and that though a soldier President, he successfully demonstrated the justice and wisdom of settling disputes among nations, not by war, but by arbitration.

The tendrils of loyalty and love stretch from his monument to every soldier's grave in the land. The members of the Grand Army of the Republic who have gone before, and those who are here awaiting the summons, present arms to-day to the memory of their old commander. This Imperial City proudly and affec-

tionately assumes the custody of his remains. The people, called from the absorbing cares of life by his natal day and this solemn ceremony, take up again their burdens with lighter hearts, and brighter hopes for their children and their children's children, because of the career and the deeds of Ulysses S. Grant.

GRANT'S STATUE AT GALENA

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF GENERAL GRANT,
AT GALENA, ILL., JUNE 3, 1891.

THIRTY years ago your city of Galena numbered among its citizens a man so modest that he was little known in the community; a merchant so humble that his activities were not felt in your business. Three years later his fame illumined the earth, and the calculations of every commercial venture, and of every constructive enterprise in the country, were based upon the success or failure of his plans. He was then supporting his family on a thousand dollars a year, and before the third anniversary of his departure from your city he was spending four millions a day for the preservation of the Union. One of the patriotic meetings, common at that period all over the North, was held here to sustain President Lincoln in his call for seventy-five thousand men to suppress the rebellion. The ardor and eloquence of John A. Rawlins so impressed an auditor whom none of the congressmen and prominent citizens on the platform had ever met, that he subsequently made the orator his chief of staff and Secretary of War. Someone discovered that Captain Grant, a graduate of West Point and a veteran of the Mexican War, lived in this city, and he was invited to preside at the formation of a military company. He was so diffident that few heard his speech of three sentences, but in that short address was condensed all the eloquence and logic of the time. "You know the object for which we are assembled. Men are needed to preserve the Union. What is your pleasure?" He organized and drilled that company, and led it to the Governor at Springfield. By that march Galena lost a citizen and the Republic found its saviour.

While others were enlisting for brief periods he besought the Adjutant-General to assign him to duty for the war, but the War Department had forgotten him. He struggled for days to work through the brilliant staff into the presence of General McClellan, but the young dandies scornfully and successfully barred his way. It was soon seen that the obscure military clerk in the

office of the Governor of Illinois was capable where all the rest were ignorant, and that under his firm and confident hand order was evolved out of chaos and raw recruits disciplined into soldiers. Though he was unknown and unnamed to the public, the executive recognized in him the organizing brain of the military forces of the State. To a reluctant President and hostile Secretary the Illinois delegation said: "Where most of the appointments are experiments, try Captain Grant as one of your brigadier generals." Thus the commonwealth which had so hotly pressed Lincoln for the chief magistracy of the Republic assumed the responsibility for Grant as commander of the army.

These marvelous men were the products of that characteristic intuition of the West which quickly discerns merit, and then confidently proclaims its faith. Education and experience make old and crowded communities averse to leadership unless it has been trained and tested. They accept nothing outside the record. The fact that the conditions are new, and the emergency greater than the schools have provided for, are stronger reasons for selecting only the men who have approximately demonstrated their ability. For all the ordinary emergencies of life the rule is excellent. But it sometimes happens that the captain who has successfully weathered a hundred gales is saved from shipwreck, in a hurricane, by the genius of a subordinate. It is not that the uneducated and untrained can, by any natural endowment, be fitted for command. Lincoln as a statesman had studied politics on the stump and in Congress, and Grant as a soldier had learned war at West Point and in Mexico. The opportunity had not come to either to stand before the country with Seward, Sumner, and Chase, or with Scott, Halleck, and McClellan. The East, following the traditions and practice of the centuries, presented tried and famous statesmen at the Chicago Convention, and saw the Army of the Potomac led to defeat and disaster, for years, by admirable officers who were unequal to the supreme perils of the handling of gigantic forces upon a vast arena. The West gave to the country for President the railsplitter of the Ohio, and, to lead its forces in the field, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan.

Grant's career will be the paradox of history. Parallels cannot be drawn for him with the great captains of the world. Historians, by common consent, place Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, and Napoleon Bonaparte in the front rank.

But each of them had learned the art of war by continuous service and unequalled opportunities, and displayed the most brilliant qualities at every period of their achievements. Hannibal and Cæsar had won universal fame in the thirties. Alexander died at thirty-three, grieving because he had no more worlds to conquer, and Napoleon at thirty-seven was master of Europe. But Grant, at forty, was an obscure leather merchant in Galena. As a cadet at West Point, he had risen only just above the middle of his class. As a subaltern on the frontier and in Mexico, he had done no more than perform his duty with the courage and capacity of the average West Pointer. He had pursued agriculture with his customary conscientious care and industry. He was not afraid to do the work of the farm himself, nor ashamed to ride into St. Louis upon the load of wood he was to sell, nor to pile it up for his customer, and yet almost any farmer in Missouri was more successful. Clients failed to retain him as a surveyor, his real estate office had to be closed, and he was not a factor in the tanner's firm.

But the moment that the greatest responsibilities were thrust upon him, and the fate of his country rested upon his shoulders, this indifferent farmer, business man, merchant, became the foremost figure of the century. The reserve powers of a dominant intellect, which ordinary affairs could not move, came into action. A mighty mind, which God had kept for the hour of supreme danger to the Republic, grasped the scattered elements of strength, solidified them into a resistless force, and organized victory. He divined the purpose of the enemy as well as he knew his own plans. His brain became clearer, his strategy more perfect, and his confidence in himself more serene as his power increased. He could lead the assault at Donelson, or the forlorn hope at Shiloh, or maneuver his forces with exquisite skill and rare originality of resources at Vicksburg, as the best of brigade or corps commanders; or before Richmond calmly conduct a campaign covering a continent, and command armies with consummate generalship. At the critical hour during the battle of Sedan, when the German Emperor and Bismarck were anxiously waiting and watching their silent general, an officer rode up and announced that two corps of the German army, marching from opposite directions, had met at a certain hour. The movement closed in the French and ended the war. Von Moltke simply

said, "The calculation was correct." Grant had not the scientific training and wonderful staff of the Prussian field marshal, but he possessed in the highest degree the same clear vision and accurate reasoning. The calculation was always correct, and the victory sure.

The mantle of prophecy no longer descends upon a successor, and the divine purpose is not revealed to mortals. There exist, however, in every age masterful men, who are masterful because they see with clear vision the course of events and fearlessly act upon the forecast. By this faculty the statesman saves his country from disaster or lifts it to the pinnacle of power, the soldier plucks victory from defeat, and the man of affairs astonishes the world by the magnitude and success of his operations. It was pre-eminently Grant's gift. Four days after the first shot was fired at Fort Sumter, he wrote from Galena a letter to his father-in-law predicting the uprising of the North and the fall of slavery. Others saw only the commercial spirit of the free States. He, far in advance of the public men of the time, divined that superb patriotism which inspired millions to leave the farm and the family, their business and their homes, to save the Union. While statesmen of all parties were temporizing and compromising with the slave power, this silent thinker, in the rear ranks of the people, pierced with undimmed eyes the veil which had clouded the vision of the nation for a hundred years. His calm judgment comprehended the forces in the conflict, and that their collision would break and pulverize the shackles of the slave. When taking observations, while standing with his staff on a hill within short range of Fort Donelson, he said, "Don't be afraid, gentlemen. Pillow, who commands there, never fired at anything." His assault would have been rashness, except that he knew Pillow and Floyd; and they both ran away and left the besieged to their fate. At Shiloh, when all his assistants had failed or despaired, he turned the worst of disasters into one of the most significant of triumphs.

His plans did not contemplate defeat. The movement he always made was "Advance." The order he always gave was "Forward!" When Buell told him that the transports at Pittsburg Landing would not carry away one-third of his force, Grant said, "If that becomes necessary, they will hold all that are left." His Vicksburg campaign was against all the teachings of the military

schools and the unanimous opinions of his council of war. A veteran strategist cried in indignant remonstrance, "You will cut loose from your base of supplies, and that is contrary to all the rules." Grant answered, "Unless we capture Vicksburg, the North will cut off our supplies," and the sorely bereaved and disheartened people were transported with joy and hope by the Fourth of July message, "Vicksburg has surrendered." The Western armies never knew their resistless power, until they felt the hand of this master. No better or braver body of soldiers ever marched or fought than the Army of the Potomac. It lost battles through bad generalship, and generals by camp jealousies and capital intrigues. Thousands of its heroes fell in fruitless fights, but it never wavered in its superb confidence and courage. At last it found a leader worthy of itself, and after scores of bloody victories ended the rebellion, under Grant. We are not yet far enough from the passions of the civil strife to do full justice to the genius of the general who commanded the rebel army. England's greatest living general, Lord Wolseley, who served with him, assigns him a foremost place among the commanders of modern times. He possessed, beyond most leaders, the loyal and enthusiastic devotion of his people, and he was the idol of his army. In estimating the results and awarding the credit of the last campaign of the war, we must remember that General Lee had defeated or baffled every opponent for three years, and that after a contest unparalleled in desperate valor, frightful carnage, and matchless strategy, he surrendered his sword to Grant.

The number of men who have led their generation, and whose fame will grow with time, is very few in any nation. Their unapproachable position has been reached because no one else could have done their work. They appear only in those crises when the life or future of their country is at stake. The United States are surprisingly rich in having possessed three such exalted intelligences in their first century—Washington, Lincoln, and Grant. The Father of his Country stands among the founders of States and defenders of the liberties of the people, as pre-eminently the chief in both war and peace. It is the judgment of his contemporaries and of posterity, that none other of the soldiers or statesmen of the Revolution could have won the war for independence as commander of the armies, or consolidated jealous and warring colonies into a nation as First President of the Re-

public. In our second revolution, the administration of the Government, and the conduct of the war, equally required supreme ability and special adaptation for the emergency. For the one was found Abraham Lincoln and for the other Ulysses S. Grant. As we look back through the clarified atmosphere of a quarter of a century of peace, congresses and cabinets with their petty strifes and wretched intrigues are obscured by the wisdom and work of the martyr President. He was a man of the people and always in touch with them. He strengthened the wavering, lifted up the faint-hearted, and inspired the strong

From him came the unfaltering patriotism and unfailing confidence which recruited the depleted army and filled the exhausted treasury. Lincoln's faith and power protected Grant from the cabals of the camp, from the hostility of the Secretary of War, from the politicians in Congress, and from his constant and extreme peril—the horror of the country at a method of warfare which sacrificed thousands of lives in battle and assault for immediate results. But time has demonstrated that this course was wiser in tactics and more merciful to the men than a Fabian policy and larger losses from diseases and exposure. Without this impregnable friend, Grant's career would, on many occasions, have abruptly closed. Without the general in supreme command, upon whose genius he staked his administration and to whose skill he intrusted the fate of the Republic, there might have been added to the list of illustrious patriots who have fallen victims to the unreasoning rage of a defeated and demoralized people, the name of Abraham Lincoln.

The most signal services rendered by Grant to his country were at Appomattox, and in his contest with President Johnson. The passions aroused by the Civil War were most inflamed when the Confederacy collapsed. Grief and vengeance are bad counselors. One serene intellect was possessed of an intuition which was second to prophecy, and was clothed with power. He saw, through the vindictive suggestions of the hour, that the seceded States must be admitted to the Union, and their people vested with all the rights of American citizenship and all the privileges of State government, or the war had been fought in vain. He sternly repressed the expressions of joy by his troops, as the vanquished enemy marched by, with his famous order, "The war is over, the rebels are our countrymen again, and the best sign

of rejoicing after the victory will be to abstain from all demonstrations in the field." He gave to the Confederates their horses and belongings and told them to go home, cultivate their farms, and repair the ravages of war. He assured all, from Lee to the private soldier, that they would be safe and unmolested so long as they observed their paroles.

To enter Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, whose spires had been in sight of the besiegers so long, would have been a resistless temptation for a weaker man. But his mind was not on spectacular display or triumphal marches over humiliated foes; it was bent upon peace and pacification. I know of no scene in our history so dramatic as the meeting between Lincoln and Grant at the White House, three days after the surrender at Appomattox. The President, who had loyally sustained the general, and the general, who had so magnificently responded to the confidence of the President, met for the last time in their lives. Grant returned with deep emotion the fraternal grasp of the only man in the country who fully understood and was in complete accord with the policy of reconciliation and repose. The work of the warrior was done, and the labor of the statesman begun. Yesterday it was destruction, to-morrow it must be reconstruction. That night the bullet of the assassin ended the life of our greatest President since Washington, and postponed the settlement of sectional difficulties and the cementing of the Union for many years. It gave the country the unfortunate administration of Andrew Johnson, with its early frenzy for revenge and determination to summarily try and execute all the rebel leaders, and its later effort to win their favor by giving them back their States without pledges for the Unionist or the freedman, and the Government without evidences of repentance or hostages for loyalty. The one sent consternation through the South and helped undo the work at Appomattox, and the other unduly elated the controlling powers in the rebel States, and necessitated measures which produced deplorable results. Grant stood with his honor and his fame between the raging Executive and the Confederate generals, and prevented a reopening of the war; he stood with drawn sword between the Chief Magistrate and a revolutionary Congress, and stayed another rebellion.

There have been many Presidents of the United States, and the roll will be indefinitely extended. We have had many bril-

liant soldiers, but only one great general. The honors of civil life could add nothing to the fame of General Grant, and it has been often argued that his career in the presidency detracted from his reputation. Such will not be the judgment of the impartial historian. He was without experience or training for public life, and unfamiliar with politicians and their methods. The spoils system, from which he could not escape, nearly wrecked his first administration. His mistakes were due to a quality which is the noblest of human virtues—loyalty to friends. Even at this short distance from scenes so vivid in our memories, party rancor has lost its bitterness and blindness. The President will be judged not by the politics or policy of the hour, but according to the permanent value to the Republic of the measures which he promoted or defeated. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was sure of adoption as one of the logical results of the war. By it the Declaration of Independence, which had been a glittering absurdity for generations, became part of the fundamental law of the land, and the subject of pride and not apology to the American people. The President's earnest advocacy hastened its ratification. On great questions affecting the honor and credit of the nation he was always sound and emphatic. A people rapidly developing their material resources are subject to frequent financial conditions which cause stringency of money and commercial disaster. To secure quick fortunes debts are recklessly incurred, and debt becomes the author of a currency craze. President Grant set the wholesome fashion of resisting and reasoning with this frenzy. Against the advice of his Cabinet and many of his party admirers he vetoed the inflation bill. He had never studied financial problems, and yet the same clear and intuitive grasp of critical situations which saved the country from bankruptcy by defeating fiat money, restored public and individual credit by the resumption of specie payments. The funding of our war debt at a lower rate of interest made possible the magical payment of the principal. The admission of the last of the rebel States into the Union, and universal amnesty for political offenses, quickened the latent loyalty of the South, and turned its unfettered and fiery energies to that development of its unequalled natural wealth which has added incalculably to the prosperity and power of the commonwealth. These wise measures will ever form a brilliant page in American history, but the administration

of General Grant will have a place in the annals of the world for inaugurating and successfully carrying out the policy of the submission of international disputes to arbitration. The Geneva Conference, and the judicial settlement of the Alabama Claims, will grow in importance and grandeur with time. As the nations of the earth disband their armaments and are governed by the laws of reason and humanity, they will recur to this beneficent settlement between the United States and Great Britain, and General Grant's memorable words upon receiving the freedom of the city of London—"Although a soldier by education and profession, I have never felt any sort of fondness for war, and I have never advocated it except as a means of peace,"—and they will hail him as one of the benefactors of mankind.

He has been called a silent man, and yet I have often heard him hold a little company in delighted attention for hours by the charm of his conversation. His simple narrative was graphic, his discussion lucid, and subtle flashes of humor sparkled through his talk. He said that when he spoke to an audience his knees knocked together, and this was evident in his manner and address, but the speech was often a welcome message to the country. As he was speaking one evening with considerable embarrassment, he pointed to a speaker who had just entered the hall, and said: "If I could stand in his shoes and he in mine, how much happier for me and better for you." Who of this generation could fill that great place? As the years increase, events crowd upon each other with such volume that the lesser ones are crushed out of memory. Most reputations are forgotten by the succeeding generation, and few survive a century. In our thousandth year as a nation, the only statesmen or soldiers of our first hundred years whose names will decorate the celebration will be Washington and Hamilton for the beginning, Webster for the middle period, and Lincoln and Grant for the close.

General Grant was the product and representative of the best element in our social life. Home and its associations have been the training and inspiration of our greatest and noblest men. They have come from the class which had neither poverty nor riches, and which was compelled to work for the support of the family, and the education of the children. Its members are God-fearing men, and loving, self-sacrificing women. It gave us Lincoln from the farm, Garfield from the tow-path, Sherman from the crowded

house of the brave and struggling widow, Sheridan from the humble cottage, and Grant from the home of the country store-keeper of the Ohio wilderness. These men never lost their sympathy with every human lot and aspiration, or the homely simplicity of their early conditions and training. Grant was clerk in the custom house and President of the United States; a lieutenant in Mexico and commander-in-chief of the armies of the Union, numbering over a million men; the unknown junior in a tanner's firm at Galena, and the guest of emperors and kings. But the memory of the church of his mother was ever visible in his reverent regard for her teachings. The applause of soldiers for their commander, of partisans for their chief leader, and of the world for one of its most illustrious heroes was grateful, but the sweetest music for him was within the family circle, in the loving companionship of his wife and children, and the prattle of his grandchildren. Though he received such honor and recognition abroad and such distinction at home, he was always, whether in the presence of royalty or of the people, a modest, typical American citizen.

Through the verses of great poets runs a familiar strain, through the works of great composers an oft-repeated tune, and through the speeches of great orators a recurring and characteristic thought. These are the germs which exhibit the moving forces of their minds. During the war "I propose to move immediately upon your works," "Unconditional surrender," "I shall take no backward step," "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer," are the beacon-lights of the plans and strategy of Grant, the soldier. At Appomattox, "The war is over," "The rebels are our countrymen again"; at the threshold of the Presidency, "Let us have peace"; on his bed of agony and death at Mount McGregor, when his power of speech was gone, writing to a Confederate general by his bedside, "Much as I suffer, I do it with pleasure, if by that suffering can be accomplished the union of my country." These sententious phrases are the indices of the labors, the aspirations, and the prayers of Grant, the statesman and the patriot.

MEMORIAL OF GENERAL SHERMAN

ADDRESS BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
AT THE SERVICES IN MEMORY OF GENERAL WILLIAM TECUM-
SEH SHERMAN, MARCH 29, 1892.

SENATORS AND MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY: The passions of civil war usually survive centuries. We cannot yet impartially and calmly estimate the ability and services of Hamilton and Jefferson. Their names still stand for antagonistic principles and antagonized followers. But the issues of the Rebellion were buried with its dead. That struggle was unique, both in magnitude and settlement. It was an earthquake which rent asunder a continent and plunged into cavernous depths millions of men and money, and the shackles of the slaves. It closed, and the survivors, freed from the causes of contention, were united for the upbuilding of the new nation. Prior to the war we were singularly provincial and insular, but we have since grown to be as radically liberal and cosmopolitan. Then our judgments of statesmen and measures were governed by considerations which were territorial or inherited. Now those who were in the front and heat of the great battle can fairly view and freely weigh the merits of their friends and foes. We can eliminate our feelings, our prejudices, and our convictions upon the purposes for which they fought, and contrast Grant and Lee, Sherman and Joe Johnston, Sheridan and Beauregard, as to the genius and ability with which they planned and played the game of war, with equal candor and better light than the historian of the future. Yesterday General Sherman was the last of that triumvirate of great captains, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, who were the most distinguished soldiers of our country and of our times, and a familiar figure in our midst. His presence revived and embodied the glories and the memories of the marches and the victories of the heroes who fought, and of the heroes who had died, for the preservation of the Union. To-day we commemorate his life and deeds; and the Civil War is history.

General Sherman's ancestors had been noted for many generations for their culture, ability, and intellectual power. His fath-

er was a judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and his grandfather of a Connecticut court, while the grandfather of the Connecticut judge was a Puritan clergyman,³ who came to Massachusetts in 1634, in company with a warrior relative, Captain John Sherman, the ancestor of Roger, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. Much has been said, but the whole can never be written, of the influence of the Puritan stock upon the formation and development of the United States, and the destinies of mankind. They alone of all colonists emigrated, not to improve their worldly condition, but to secure liberty of conscience and to live under a government of just and equal laws. All through the career of General Sherman the spirit of Cromwell and the Covenanter was the motive power of his action. His principle of war was to use up and consume the resources of the enemy. The destruction of Atlanta and the devastating march through Georgia and the Carolinas were upon Puritan lines. The enemies of his country were as much to his mind the enemies of the Lord as were the Cavaliers of Prince Rupert to Cromwell and his Ironsides. He was by nature the most genial, lovable, and companionable of men, but the mailed hand and merciless purpose followed any attack on the things he held sacred. This appears not only in his campaigns, but also in his dispatches to Generals Grant and Halleck: "I will make the interior of Georgia feel the weight of war." "The utter destruction of its roads, houses, and people will cripple their military resources." "I attach more importance to these deep incisions into the enemy's country because this war differs from European wars in this particular: We are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war as well as their organized armies." And in his letter demanding the surrender of Savannah he says: "Should I be forced to assault, or to the slower and surer process of starvation, I shall then feel justified in resorting to the harshest measures, and shall make little effort to restrain my army, burning to avenge the national wrong, which they attach to Savannah and the other large cities which have been so prominent in dragging our country into civil war."

³Rev. John Sherman, the great-great-greatgrandfather of General Sherman, was born in Stratford, Conn., Feb. 8, 1651. It was his father, Samuel Sherman, who emigrated to Massachusetts.—*Ed.*

This was the language of the Puritan soldier. It was born and bred in the children of the people who first separated Church from State, and went to the stake for believing and declaring that the will of God could be one way, and the will of the king the other, and their allegiance was to the Lord. It was the same conscience which beheaded Charles I., and threw the tea into Boston Harbor. Marston Moor, Lexington, and the March to the Sea were fruits of the same tree. Sherman was a soldier, educated by the Government of the United States, and the Republic was his love and his religion. The intensity of his passion for the Nation would in other times and surroundings have made him a general in the Parliamentary army, or the leader of a New England colony.

I shall never forget a dramatic scene at a notable gathering in New York, when Charles Sumner indirectly attacked President Grant, as a failure in civil affairs, by ridiculing Miles Standish. General Sherman was a stranger to a New York audience, and none knew that he could speak. Few men would have dared reply to the world-famed orator. But he had assailed the two tenderest sentiments of General Sherman—his love and admiration for Grant, and his pride in his profession of a soldier. Without any opportunity for preparation, but without hesitation, he immediately arose to meet this unexpected and surprising attack. Defense, under such conditions, would with most untrained speakers have degenerated into abuse, but with Sherman it became the most impressive eloquence. It was a direct and simple statement of his faith in his friend, and a description of the merits and mission of the soldier which was like the brilliant dash and resistless momentum of a charge of cavalry through the broken squares of the enemy. It was a speech Captain Miles Standish might have made after two hundred and fifty years of American opportunity, and the mighty soul of the Puritan captain seemed inspiring the voice and the presence of his advocate.

The same qualities made him the most amiable and lovable of men and the most rigid of disciplinarians. His heart was easily touched and his sympathies aroused by the distress or want or sorrow of others, but he was the incarnation of the vengeance of the law upon military crimes. A corps commander of the Army of the Potomac once said to him: "General Sherman, we had trouble in enforcing strict obedience to orders, because the find-

ings of the courts martial had to be sent to President Lincoln for approval in extreme cases, and he would never approve a sentence of death. What did you do?" "I shot them first," was the grewsome reply.

General Sherman was destined from his birth for the career which has become one of the brightest pages in his country's history. The hero among the early settlers of the Ohio valley was that brave and chivalric Indian chief, Tecumseh,¹ who had commanded the admiration of the whites by his prowess, and their good will by his kindness. He fought to exterminate, but he could as quickly forgive as he fiercely and savagely struck. The qualities of this wild warrior became part of the characteristics of his namesake. It was ruthless and relentless war with the enemy in the field, but no commander ever granted more generous terms to the vanquished, or was so ready to assist with purse and influence a fallen foe.

His father, Judge Sherman, died suddenly, leaving his widow with little means and a family of eleven children. The helpfulness of the American family when thrown upon its own resources, and the ready and practical sympathy of American communities, so extended as to convey, not charity, but compliment, has no better example than in the story of this household, and the success in life of its members. The Bench and the Bar felt that the boys were the wards of the profession. Ohio's leading lawyer and United States Senator, the Honorable Thomas Ewing, said, "Give me one, but the brightest," and the brothers and sisters of the future captor of Atlanta answered, "Take Cump, he is the smartest." This profound jurist and keen observer of character saw the future general in this quick, nervous, intelligent, pugnacious boy, with his Indian warrior name, and appointed him to the West Point Military Academy. His fertile and versatile mind pushed its inquiries into too many directions, and explored fields too diverse for that methodical and accurate mastery of the curriculum which makes a valedictorian, but not always a man. Nevertheless, he stood sixth in his class, and was its most original and attractive member. He had a fondness for topographical studies, and a keen eye and natural and trained instinct for the opportunities for defense and attack which could be utilized in the

¹Chief of the Shawnee Tribe, born about 1770. He joined the British in the War of 1812-14, and was killed at the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813.—*Ed.*

places where he was stationed and the country over which he traveled.

His first service was in Florida, and his duties carried him, during his six years in the South, through South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and the adjoining counties of Tennessee. The great debate as to the powers of the General Government and the reserved rights of the States was at its height. General Jackson had placed his iron heel upon John C. Calhoun and registered the mighty oath, "By the Eternal, the Union of these States must and shall be preserved." South Carolina was specially independent and defiant. Threats of disunion met Sherman at every social gathering. Webster's masterly and unequalled argument and eloquence had converted the North and thousands of broadminded men in the South to the idea that the United States was a nation, with the right to use all the resources of the country to enforce its laws and maintain its authority. The possibility of these questions being decided by the arbitrament of war was ever present to the suggestive thought of this young lieutenant. The line of the Tennessee River, the steep ascent of Kenesaw Mountain, the military value of Chattanooga and Atlanta, were impressed upon the intellect of the maturing strategist, to materialize twenty years afterward in the severance and ruin of the Confederacy by his triumphant March to the Sea.

Sherman had been brought up and trained in the school of Hamilton, of Webster, and of Henry Clay. His Bible was the Constitution. He had imagination but no sentiment; passion, but no pathos. Believing slavery to have guarantees in the Constitution, he would have unsheathed his sword as readily against a John Brown raid as he did at the firing upon Fort Sumter. His imagination led him to glorify and idealize the Republic. Its grandeur, its growth, and its possibilities captured and possessed his heart and mind. The isolation and loneliness of the life in frontier forts destroy many young officers. Their energies are exhausted and their habits and principles demoralized by dissipation, or their faculties paralyzed by idleness. But the card table or the carouse had no attractions for Sherman. His time on the plains was fully occupied. He was building railroads across the continent on paper, and peopling those vast regions with prosperous settlements, long before they had any roads but the paths of the buffalo, and any inhabitants but roving tribes of wild In-

dians. He could never understand the lamentation, so common, over the extermination of the buffalo. The patient oxen drawing the plow through the furrow, and the lowing herds winding home at sunset, seemed to him to have replaced the wild and useless bison with the sources of individual and national wealth and happiness. He would have destroyed the Indians, because with their occupancy of extensive and fertile territories, which they would neither cultivate nor sell, and the wars with them, which frightened settlers from their borders, they retarded the development and checked the majestic march of his country to the first place among the nations of the earth.

This intense nationalist and accomplished soldier was selected by the State of Louisiana to be the superintendent and organizer of her State Military School.² The veteran who, bringing to the business of banking little more than unswerving integrity, had failed, and whose directness of purpose and transparent candor were disgusted with the law, found in this field of instruction a most pleasant and congenial occupation. He was at the head of a university which was fitting youth for careers in civil life, and training them, if need were, to fight for their country. The institution grew so rapidly and wisely that the attention of the State authorities was attracted to its able and brilliant principal. He did not suspect treason, and they were organizing rebellion. To capture this born leader of men was to start with an army. Social blandishments, political pressure, and appeals to ambition were skillfully applied to his purposes and principles. Suddenly the truth burst upon his frank nature. He was poor, and had a large and helpless family. He held an honorable, congenial, lucrative, and permanent position. The future, if he abandoned his place, was dark and doubtful, but the Union was in danger, and he did not hesitate a moment. His letter of resignation to the Governor of Louisiana reads like a bugle call of patriotism: "As I occupy a quasi-military position under the laws of the State, I deem it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such position when Louisiana was a State in the Union, and when the motto of this seminary was inserted in marble over the main door: 'By the liberality of the General Government of the United States. The Union: *Esto perpetua*.' Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to chose. If Louisiana with-

²At Alexandria, Rapides Parish.—Ed.

draws from the Federal Union I prefer to maintain my allegiance to the Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives. . . . On no earthly account will I do any act or think any thought hostile to or in defiance of the old Government of the United States."

Events move rapidly in revolutions, and the situations are always dramatic. Captain Sherman is in Washington, offering his services to the Government, Lincoln is President, Seward Secretary of State, Chase Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman the new United States Senator from Ohio, and old General Scott in command of the army. Nobody believes there will be war. It is the general conviction that, if the Southern States are rash enough to attempt to secede, the rebellion will be stamped out in three months, and the campaign will be a picnic. Alone in that great throng of office-seekers and self-seekers stands this aggressive and self-sacrificing patriot. He understands and appreciates better than any man living the courage, resources, and desperate determination of the South. "They mean war," he cries; "they will soon have armies in the field officered and led by trained and able soldiers. It will require the whole power of the Government and three years of time to subdue them, if they get organized before you are on them." Congressmen laughed at the wild talk of the dramatic alarmist, old army officers significantly tapped their foreheads, and said, "Poor Sherman, it is too bad"; and the President answered coldly, "Well, Captain, I guess we will manage to keep house."

The Confederate army had concentrated at Manassas, threatening Washington. There were few West Point officers available, and Captain Sherman was commissioned a colonel and given command of a brigade at Bull Run. He was the one earnest man among the crowd of triflers in uniform and citizen's dress who flocked to the field. Congress adjourned to see the rebels run, and congressmen led the tumultuous flight from the battle to Washington. Holding in hand all there was of his brigade which had not stampeded, exposing himself with reckless courage, and keeping a semblance of discipline which did much to prevent pursuit by the victorious enemy, Colonel Sherman rode in to Washington to acknowledge so freely the faults on the field, and to denounce so vigorously the utterly inadequate preparations for civil war, that he again fell into disrepute, was again assailed as

a madman, and banished to the West. But Ohio never lost confidence in him, and demanded and secured his appointment in the long list of brigadier generals.

The senseless clamor which frightened the Cabinet and the War Office, by shouting "On to Richmond," was not appeased by the disgrace and slaughter of Bull Run and Manassas. The frightful recoil, which had followed obedience to the popular cry, only infuriated the politicians. If they could not put down the rebellion in a day, they could at least punish those who had insisted upon the power of the Confederacy. There was a significant display of that singular quality of human nature which leads people who have been warned against a rash act, to turn in defeat and disappointment and rend the prophet who foretold the result. Sherman, from the more commanding position of his superior rank, was once more announcing the strength, power, and resources of the rebels in Kentucky and Tennessee. He boldly proclaimed that the forces collected to hold those States were so absurdly inadequate that another and more fatal Bull Run was sure to follow, unless the means were equal to the emergency. The Government, the press, and the people united in condemning his terrorizing utterances, and for the third time he was sent into retirement as a lunatic. Accumulating perils and providential escapes from hopeless disasters speedily demonstrated that this madman was a seer, and this alarmist a general.

Then, for the glory of the American army and the incalculable advantage of the Union cause, came the opportunity for the most brilliant soldier and magnetic commander in our annals. The control of the Mississippi, the allegiance of the Border States, and the existence of the Western army were in gravest peril at Shiloh. Sherman was at the front on those two desperate days, holding his men by his personal example and presence. He was as much the inspiration of the fight as the white plume of Henry of Navarre at Ivry. Though wounded he still led, and though three horses were shot under him he mounted the fourth. General Halleck, then commander-in-chief of all the national forces, reported to the Government that "General Sherman saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th."

Critics and historians will forever discuss the men and the movements of the Civil War. As time passes, and future events

crowd the record, most of the figures of that bloody drama, now so well known to us, will disappear. It requires, even after the lapse of only a quarter of a century, an effort and a history to recall many names which were then household words. But Sherman's March to the Sea, like the retreat of Xenophon and his ten thousand Greeks, will arouse through all ages the enthusiasm of the schoolboy, the fervor of the orator, and the admiration of the strategist. When at last, with a picked army of sixty thousand veterans, Sherman was encamped at Atlanta, he had grasped and materialized the factors of success in the dream of his youth. He bombarded the President and the commanding general with letters and telegrams: "I can divide the Confederacy, destroy the source of its supplies, devastate its fertile regions, and starve its armies." "Give me the word 'go,'" burdened the wires and the dispatch boxes. The Cabinet said: "Your army will be lost, floundering in the heart of the enemy's country and cut off from your base of supplies." The headquarters staff said: "Turn back upon the course you have traversed, and destroy Hood's army, which threatens your communications and your rear, and then we will discuss the question with you." Sherman detached that most remarkable general, Thomas, with a force sufficient, in his judgment, to take care of Hood, and that superb officer vindicated the trust reposed in him by pulverizing the rebel army.

At last the President gave an approval so reluctant that it threw the responsibility upon General Sherman, and Grant gave his assent. Said General Sherman to me, in one of the confidences so characteristic of his candid mind: "I believed that this permission would be withdrawn, and sent immediately a detachment to destroy the wires for sixty miles. I never felt so free and so sure as when the officer returned and reported the work done. Years afterward I discovered an official memorandum that, 'owing to the sudden interruption by the rebels of communications with Atlanta a message, countermanding the assent to General Sherman to march across the country to Savannah, could not be delivered.'" Upon such slender threads hang the fate of campaigns and the fame of illustrious men.

The armies of Tennessee and of Georgia had the dash and daring, the free and breezy swing and ways, and the familiarity with their officers, characteristic of the West. They idolized their fatherly but cyclonic commander. This superb specimen of the

pure Puritan stock, born and bred in the West, careful of every detail which promoted their comfort and efficiency, and careless of the form and dignity which hedge in authority, won their love and admiration. Most veteran armies, with their lines of communication and supplies abandoned, marching into the enemy's country, ignorant of the food and forage which might be found, or the forces which might cross their path, would have murmured or hesitated. But the soldier, who with only a day's rations in his haversack, called out to his grim and thoughtful general as he rode by, "Uncle Billy, I suppose we are going to meet Grant in Richmond," expressed the faith of his comrades. If Richmond was their objective point, nor mountains, nor rivers, nor hostile peoples, nor opposing armies, could prevent Sherman from taking them there triumphantly. The capture of Atlanta had aroused the wildest enthusiasm among the people. For the thirty days during which the victors were lost in the interior of the Confederacy, the North listened with gravest apprehension and bated breath. Then the conquering host were on the shores of the sea, Savannah was laid at the feet of President Lincoln by their general as a Christmas present, the Confederacy was divided and its resources destroyed, and William Tecumseh Sherman became "one of the few, the immortal names, that were not born to die."

Having placed his army across all the roads by which General Lee could escape from Richmond, Sherman left his quarters to visit Lincoln, then with Grant at City Point.

In April, 1861, Captain Sherman had informed the President in the White House, that "he might as well attempt to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt gun as to put down the rebellion with seventy-five thousand men, and that the whole military power of the North should be organized at once for a desperate struggle"—to be laughed out of Washington as a lunatic. Four years had passed. Two millions of men had been mustered in; five hundred thousand had been killed in battle, or died in the hospital, or had been disabled for life, and in March, 1865, General Sherman stood in the presence of the President. It was the original faculty of Mr. Lincoln, that he could so acknowledge a mistake as to make it the most delicate and significant compliment. "Mr. President," said Sherman, "I left in camp seventy-five thousand of the best troops ever gathered in the field, and if

Lee escapes Grant, they can take care of him." "I shall not feel secure, nor that they are safe," said the President, "until I know you are back again and in command." "I can capture Jefferson Davis and his cabinet," said General Sherman. "Let them escape," was the suggestion of this wisest of Presidents; "and above all, let there be no more bloodshed, if that is possible." General Joseph Johnston and the last army of the Confederacy in Sherman's hands, the terms of reconstruction and reconciliation which he had heard from Lincoln in that final and memorable interview submitted as the conditions of surrender, the President's assassination and its dread consequences, the contemptuous repudiation of his terms by Secretary Stanton, the grand review of his soldiers by the Cabinet and Congress at Washington, the indignant refusal of the proffered hand of the Secretary of War in the presence of the Government and the people, the farewell to and muster out of his beloved army—and one of the most picturesque, romantic, and brilliant military careers of modern times came to a close. Its ending had all the striking and spectacular setting of its course; and its adventures, achievements, and surprises will be for all time the delight of the historian and the inspiration of the soldier.

The later years of most heroes have been buffeted with storms, or have come to a tragic end. Cæsar, in the supreme hour of his triumph, fell at the foot of Pompey's statues, pierced by the daggers of his friends. Napoleon fretted out his great soul in the solitude of St. Helena. Wellington lost popularity and prestige in the strifes of parties. Washington was worried and wearied into his grave by the cares of office and the intrigues of his enemies—enemies, as he believed, also of his country. Grant's death was hastened and his last days clouded by the machinations of politicians and the crimes of trusted associates. But General Sherman, in retirement, led an ideal life. Only Von Moltke shares with him the peaceful pleasures of content and of his people's love.

The Fathers of the Republic were fearful of military influence and apprehensive of dangers to liberty and perils to the life of the young Republic. Some of them even distrusted Washington and a dictatorship. After him they set aside all the Revolutionary generals and selected statesmen for Presidents. But, with confidence in the power and perpetuity of the nation, came the popular strength of the successful soldier. None of our heroes have

been able to resist the fascinations and the dangers of the chief magistracy, except General Sherman. All of our great captains would have led happier lives, and left their fame less obscured, if they had spurned the temptation. In nearly every canvass since Jackson, one or both of the great parties have had military candidates. General Sherman had such peculiar and striking elements of popularity, that party leaders begged and besought him to carry their standard. His election would have been a certainty, and he knew it. But his answer was, "I will not accept if nominated, and I will not serve if elected." "In every man's life occurs an epoch when he must choose his own career, and when he may not throw off the responsibility, or tamely place his destiny in the hands of his friends. Mine occurred in Louisiana, when, in 1861, alone in the midst of a people blinded by supposed wrongs, I resolved to stand by the Union as long as a fragment of it survived on which to cling. I remember well the experiences of Generals Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Grant, Hayes, and Garfield, all elected because of their military services, and am warned, not encouraged by their sad experiences." Not the least of the dramatic memories which will distinguish this most sincere and original actor in the drama of life will be, that he will remain forever the only American who refused the Presidency of the United States. Though declining political preferment for himself, he rejoiced in the honors bestowed upon any member of his old army. "I am proud," he said, "that Ben Harrison is our President; that Foraker, Hovey, Fitler, and Humphreys are Governors of the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas, all 'my boys,'" and he would have been wild with delight if he could have added Slocum, Governor of New York.

His daily walks were a series of triumphal processions. The multitudes never obtruded upon his privacy, but separated as he approached, and united, when he passed, to express their individual and collective affection and gratitude. The encampments of the Grand Army were tame in his absence, but his presence called together from fifty to a hundred thousand comrades to greet "Uncle Billy," and rend the heavens with the chorus of "Marching through Georgia." His versatile genius met instantly and instinctively the exacting requirements of an impromptu address before a miscellaneous audience. He possessed beyond most men the quick sympathy with the occasion, the seriousness and humor,

the fervor and story, the crisp argument and delicacy of touch, which make the successful after-dinner speech. He was the most charmingly unconscious of conversationalists. In his effacement of himself and cordial recognition of others, picturesque narrative of adventure and keen analysis of character, dry humor and hot defense or eulogy of a friend, his talk was both a panorama and a play. He was always a boy, with a boy's love of fun, keen interest in current events, and transparent honesty of thought and expression. He loved the theater; and the stage, feeling the presence of a discriminating but admiring friend, was at its best when General Sherman was in the audience.

He was delightfully happy in the applause and praise of his countrymen and countrywomen. He felt that it came from their hearts, as it went to his. Through his course as a cadet at West Point and his career as a young officer he revealed his innermost soul in frequent correspondence with the daughter of his adopted father, who became afterward his wife, and whose wisdom, devotion, and tenderness made his home his haven and his heaven. No impure thought ever occupied his mind or unclean word passed his lips. There was something so delicate and deferential in his treatment of women, the compliment was so sincere both in manner and speech, that the knightly courtesy of Bayard had in him the added charm of a recognition of woman's equal mind and judgment.

He lived in and with the public. There was something in the honesty and clear purpose of crowds which was in harmony with his ready sympathy and unreserved expression and action on every question. He delighted in large cities, and especially in New York. The mighty and yet orderly movements of great populations were in harmony with his constant contemplation of grand campaigns. His penetrating and sensitive mind found rest and recreation in the limitless varieties of metropolitan life. He so quickly caught the step of every assemblage, that he was equally at home among scientists and Sunday-school teachers' alumni associations and national societies, club festivities, chamber of commerce celebrations, and religious conventions. He never hesitated to respond on any and all of these occasions to a call for a speech, and always struck a chord which was so in unison with the thought of his audience as to leave a lasting impression. After the most serious and important of consultations or meetings,

the small hours of the night would often find him the honored guest, a boon companion among bohemians, or old comrades; but in all the freedom of story and repartee, of humor or recitation, neither he nor they ever for an instant forgot that they were in the presence of General Sherman.

He was entirely free from the intense and absorbing passion for wealth which characterizes our times. He knew little of and cared less for the process of money-getting. The one place in the country where fortunes were never estimated was his house, and his was the only presence where riches, their acquirement, and their uses were never discussed. He was satisfied with his well-earned pay from the Government, and did not envy those who possessed fortunes. In his simple tastes and childlike simplicity, as he lived and moved in the midst of the gigantic combinations and individual efforts to secure a large share of stocks and bonds and lands, he stood to the financial expansions and revulsions of the day as did the Vicar of Wakefield to the fashionable society of his period.

This soldier, citizen, and patriot, this model husband, father, and friend, held a place in every heart, and a seat by every fire-side in the land. His death carried a sense of personal bereavement to every household, and plunged the country in mourning. The imposing catafalque has attracted the curiosity of thousands as it has borne to the tomb eminent citizen or soldier, but the simple caisson rumbling over the pavement, and carrying General Sherman to the side of his beloved wife and adored boy in the cemetery, drew tears from millions. His name and his fame, his life and his deeds, are among the choicest gifts of God to this richly endowed Republic, and a precious legacy for the example and inspiration of coming generations.

REUNION OF ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

ORATION AT THE REUNION OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC AT
SARATOGA, NEW YORK, JUNE 22, 1887.

SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC: Last summer I stood upon the White Hill at Prague, in Bohemia, where the Thirty Years' War began and ended. There is no more suggestive spot in Europe. It recalled a picture of the horrors and desolation of war unequalled in history. Across the vision moved the majestic figures of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein, of Turenne and Tilly, and of Cardinal Richelieu. The contest began when the Continent was dominated by the German Empire, and ended with the magnificent creation of Charles the Fifth broken into numberless petty principalities. Religious zeal supported the combatants on both sides. The results were gains in toleration of creeds, but the losses in power and prestige and in devastated cities and countries were incalculable. I was struck with the parallel it offered with our Civil War. The separation of the German people into little states, each with its court, its army, and its jealousies, made Germany the prey of conquerors for two hundred years. Liberty was crushed, and the public burdens were intolerable. Each new invader found allies among the contending kingdoms and duchies, and internal dissensions made national unity and strength impossible. It was not until after two centuries of suffering and humiliation that the genius of Bismarck consolidated the German people into an Empire. Instantly they assumed their proper place, and became the strongest and most hopeful of European powers.

The War of the Rebellion began properly with the battle of Bull Run; it ended, within a short distance of the same place, at Appomattox. Along seven thousand miles of country battles were fought and armies maneuvered, but the transcendent conflicts were always in Virginia. The Army of the Potomac and the army of Lee were the main combatants, for whom other armies, in their own gallant and brilliant way, were creating diversions, fighting glorious battles, and drawing off the strength

of the adversary. Like the contest of the seventeenth century, ours was both a civil and religious war. Three generations of the people of eleven States had been taught by the ablest and most logical statesmen of their time that, as a matter of the highest political economy, the laborer should be enslaved. No other doctrine was permitted to reach the masses, and they became unanimous in this belief. The Church threw around this opinion its sacred benediction, and doctors of divinity and ambitious politicians vied with each other in finding excuses for slavery, the one by distorted interpretations of the Scriptures, the other by forced renderings of the Constitution. In the North preacher and publicist inveighed against it as the most frightful curse to the State and a crime against God. But the country came out of the conflict, not like the old German Empire from the Thirty Years' War, a confederation of independent and warring states, but a mighty nation. We believed from the start in unity and nationality, and upon them staked our all. We escaped that terrible experience of two hundred years by which Germany learned her lesson, and the American Bismarck was the American people.

In the Army of the Potomac the State of New York has the deepest and most tender interest. This commonwealth contributed more men to its ranks than they ever mustered at any one time. The grand total of the mighty host enlisted from this State under its banners was four hundred and eighty-eight thousand, and from every one of your battle-fields the cords of grief are stretched to all the cities, villages, and hamlets within our borders. It is, therefore, eminently fit that you should frequently honor us with your reunions, and pre-eminently appropriate that a commemoration should be held upon this spot. The battle of Saratoga is one of the landmarks of liberty. A great critic has placed it among the most important of the fifteen decisive conflicts of history. The patriot army was in desperate straits, and the Continental treasury bankrupt and without credit. The British Cabinet had ordered that Burgoyne should march down from the north to meet Sir Henry Clinton coming up the Hudson, and the young confederacy thus cut in twain could be easily conquered. Washington was as thoroughly alive to the perils of the situation as the English generals were to its possibilities. The hopes and fears of the young Republic were concentrated on the army facing Burgoyne at Saratoga. The battle closed, not only

with the defeat but the capture of the entire British army, with all its armament and stores. The victory breathed the breath of life into American credit, and opened the sources of national revenue. It inspired the wavering and gave strength to the weak. It furnished the means to that hero and patriot of two continents, the Marquis de Lafayette, by which he brought about the French alliance. "Now is the time and here is the place for every enemy of England to strike a mortal blow," said old Frederick the Great, of Prussia, when he heard of Saratoga, and the governments of the world received the United States of America into the family of nations.

But it is not to celebrate the victories and the virtues of the heroes of the Revolution that we are met here to-day. It is for old soldiers once more to touch elbows, for the cordial communion of comrades, for the revival of sacred reminiscences, and the broader purpose of keeping coming generations informed for what you fought and what you won. Vapid sentimentalists and timid souls deprecate these annual reunions, fearing they may arouse old strifes and sectional animosities; but a war in which five hundred thousand men were killed and two millions were wounded, in which States were devastated and money spent equal to twice England's gigantic debt, has a meaning, a lesson, and results which are to the people of this Republic a liberal education, and the highest chairs in this university belong to you.

We cheerfully admit that the Confederate equally with the Federal soldier believed he was fighting for the right, and maintained his faith with a valor which fully sustained the reputation of Americans for courage and constancy; and yet, one side or the other was wrong. It was slavery and disunion, or freedom and union, and one must not only yield, but die. The God of Battles decided for Liberty and Nationality, and no surviving soldier who fought in either army to-day doubts the righteousness of that verdict. The best and bravest thinkers of the South gladly proclaim that the superb development which has been the outgrowth of their defeat is worth all its losses, its sacrifices, its humiliations. As torrents of living waters flowed from the rock smitten by Moses in the desert, so from the touch of liberty has come an industrial revolution full of prosperity and promise. The wastes and wildernesses of feudal baronies are inviting emigration to a new agriculture and harvests of wealth, and the hills and moun-

tains are yielding their treasures to the founding and building of new Birminghams and Sheffield. The marvelous recuperation of the whole country in the past twenty years, and our gigantic strides in material progress, have almost obliterated from memory the fact that these results are solely due to the victories won by the armies of the Union. Let the youth of all sections grow up from generation to generation taught the lesson and imbued with the sentiment that this Republic is not a confederacy of independent States, but a Nation, with the right and power to use the last dollar and enlist the last man to maintain the authority of the Constitution and the supremacy of the flag. Whoever is offended by this is not a loyal citizen and should "reconstruct" or emigrate. Englishmen fought against Englishmen in the Revolutionary War, and now, to the modern and enlightened Briton, the Fourth of July is as triumphant a day as it is for us. It won for us independence, and for him larger liberties and better government. I say it reverently, the converted sinner kneels at the altar and confesses before God and the world the error of his ways, or the heresy of his opinions, and when forgiven and absolved, instead of being offended at the repeated celebrations of the event, he glories in the victory, and calls upon comrades and companions to share his happiness. The results of the Civil War were embodied in the Constitution and embedded in the laws of the land, and loyal minds and loyal hearts, no matter on which side they fought, hold that the observance and enforcement of such laws in letter and in spirit are the tests of true citizenship and honest patriotism.

We are surfeited in these times with careful calculations and rigid estimates of the value of the services of the men who fought this war. In popular discussions it is widely taught that "pensioner" is a term of reproach instead of honorable recognition of the country's gratitude. I remember, when a boy, that the most distinguished guests at all patriotic celebrations were the venerable men whose names were borne on the pension-roll of the army. It was a decoration, and carried with it the distinction of the medal and ribbon of the Legion of Honor. Fraud upon the pension fund is a capital crime and merits the severest punishment, but the principles upon which it is founded, and the purity with which it is administered, reflect credit alike upon the giver and the recipients. The men who at a compensation of thirteen dollars a month left

behind them prospects for promotion in their professions, wealth in their business, and competence from their industries, and for four years marched under blazing suns, slept upon the ground, breathed the miasma of the swamps, were racked with the fevers of the jungle, and amidst shot and shell and saber-thrust kept their colors aloft and bore them to the Capital in triumph, secured for the sixty millions of people of this Republic, and their descendants, those unequaled civil and religious rights and business opportunities which make this land the one country in the world where people of all nationalities are seeking homes, and from which no man ever voluntarily emigrated. In 1860 the developed and assessable property of the United States was valued at sixteen thousand millions of dollars. One-half of this enormous sum was destroyed by the Civil War, and yet so prodigious has been the growth of wealth under the conditions created by the national victory and the settlements of reconstruction, that in this month of June, 1887, the estimate surpasses the imperial figure of sixty thousand millions of dollars, and the growth is at the rate of nearly seven millions a day. Our wealth approximates one-half of that of all Europe, and it is an easy task for the statistician to aggregate civilized governments with populations of hundreds of millions of people who are paupers in the scale of comparisons. While in Europe with the increase of population there has been a decrease, since the surrender of Appomattox, in the amount for each individual, here during the same period the increase for every inhabitant has been fifty per cent. If it be true that the transmittable property of the world accumulated during the last twenty-five years equals all the gains from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the present century, then much of it has been made by this favored nation, which for sixteen hundred years had no existence, and was not an appreciable factor in the divisible property of the earth at the close of the Christian calculation. These unparallel results can be protected and continued only by the spirit represented by your sacrifices and inspiring your victories—the spirit of patriotism. This is a republic, and neither Mammon nor Anarchy shall be king. The American asks only for a fair field and an equal chance. He believes that every man is entitled for himself and his children to the full enjoyment of all he honestly earns; but he will seek and find the means for eradicating conditions which hopelessly handi-

cap him from the start. In this contest he does not want the assistance of the Red Flag, and he regards with equal hostility those who march under that banner and those who furnish argument and excuse for its existence. The men who in 1880 "cornered" our wheat product, and so artificially raised the price all over the world that governments and peoples pushed railroads through Indian plains to the Himalayas, across Russian steppes to the Arctic zone, and over Australian deserts to fertile valleys, in search of food, created for us competitions which lost us the foreign markets and partially paralyzed our agricultural prosperity. They were public enemies. In good times and easy credit a small margin represents millions of capital, and reckless speculators control first one and then another of the necessities of life, raising the cost of living beyond the profits of production, throwing thousands of industrious men out of employment, and thwarting and ruining legitimate trades and business capital. They exasperate the victims and incite combinations and dangers which threaten the whole property of the country, the peace of communities, and the lives of millions of people. If public sentiment cannot reach these evils, our Constitutions are elastic enough, our Legislatures wise enough, and our Courts strong enough, to eradicate them by lawful means. Traffic in the food of the people must be free. The corporation is the creature of the State, its powers limited by the conditions of its existence, its methods subject to public supervision, and its life dependent upon its creator. It is the only medium through which many of the great enterprises of our civilization can be carried on. But the sun of publicity can send no ray into the labyrinths of those gigantic combinations which are created by neither law nor custom nor necessity, and whose mysterious movements are at once the peril and the puzzle of the investor, and the destructive traps for enterprise and ambition.

Thirty years ago Macaulay wrote a letter to an eminent citizen of this State which carries to the reader the shock of an electric battery. In it he declares that our institutions are not strong enough to stand the strain of crowded populations and social distress, and that our public lands furnish the only escape from anarchy. With the opening of the next century, thirteen years hence, they will all be occupied, and at the first industrial disturbance which throws large masses of men out of employment we

must meet the prediction of the famous historian. If Macaulay had witnessed the sublime response of the people to President Lincoln's call for troops to suppress rebellion and save the Union, it would have cleared his vision and modified his judgment. Nevertheless, the exhaustion of the public domain and the disappearance forever of the unbought homestead, present part of Macaulay's problem. The ranks of anarchy and riot number no Americans. The leaders boldly proclaim that they come here, not to enjoy the blessings of our liberty and to sustain our institutions, but to destroy our Government and dethrone our laws, to cut our throats and divide our property. Dissatisfied labor furnishes the opportunity to preach their doctrines and mobs to try their tactics. Their recruiting officers are active in every city in Europe, and for once despotic governments give them accord and assistance, in securing and shipping to America the most dangerous elements of their populations. The emigrants arriving this year will outnumber the people of several States, and of every city in the country but three, and if some mighty power should instantly depopulate Maine or Connecticut or Nebraska, or Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and New Haven combined, with their culture, refinement, and varied professional, mechanical, and industrial excellence and enlightened government, and suddenly substitute these people, we could quickly estimate the character and value of this contribution to our institutions and wealth. The emigrants of the past have been of incalculable benefit to a country which needed settlers for its lands, and skilled and unskilled labor for its towns, and among them have been men who have filled and adorned the highest positions of power and trust. The officers of the Government report that there is a falling-off of over seventy per cent. of farmers, mechanics, and trained workers, and their places are occupied by elements which must drift into and demoralize labor centers already overstocked and congested, or fill the highways and poorhouses. We do not wish to prohibit emigration, but our laws should be rigidly revised so that we may at least have some voice in the selection of our guests. We cannot afford to become the dumping-ground of the world for its vicious or ignorant or worthless or diseased. We will welcome, as always, all patriots fleeing from oppression, all who will contribute to the strength of our Government and the development of our resources, and we will freely grant to all who

become citizens equal rights and privileges under the laws and in making them, with the soldiers who saved the Republic, but no more. There is room in this country for only one flag, and "Old Glory" must head the procession or it cannot march.

A nation of the power and position of the United States should have a navy strong enough to protect its coasts and harbors, to maintain its honor and enforce respect for its flag, and an army worthy of the name. Wars have not ceased. With our reviving commerce and growing interests all over the world, we may at any time be embroiled in a conflict with some European or South American government. That Turkey or Chili could sweep our navy from the seas in a month, that there is no gun or armament in any of our ports which could prevent an ironclad from entering the harbor and destroying our chief cities or levying hundreds of millions of tribute, is not gratifying to our sense, our security, or our pride. That we would be buffeted and humiliated for two years before we would be able to protect ourselves or retaliate, illustrates the superlative idiocy of our blind confidence in our resources. The governments of Europe, armed to the teeth, are confronting each other, and an accident or a death may precipitate the most gigantic conflict of modern times; but they will not always be thus engaged. An army of fifty thousand men is none too large to man our forts and frontiers, and form the nucleus and the school for our volunteers. For while the citizen soldiers will always be our reliance in war or rebellion, it takes many months to arm, equip, and drill them for effective service.

We are in the enjoyment of profound domestic tranquillity, but the safety of every man in his home, his family, his children, and his property is only in the supremacy of the laws. Among sixty millions of people, and soon to be a hundred millions, spread over a continent, there is liable to arise at any time insurrection or riots from economic or political or religious or social causes beyond the power of local or state authorities to meet. There has been a Mormon rebellion; others of like character are possible. A temperance murder may provoke that most frightful form of tyranny, mob rule. Had the police been routed on the night of the anarchists' assault at Chicago, it would have taken an army to save the unprotected city from burning and pillage and the unutterable horrors of the sack. A less peace-loving or

self-poised man than Samuel J. Tilden would have stirred political passions, inflamed to the fighting point, into bloody revolt. The demagogue who pretends to fear that the liberties of sixty millions of people may be endangered by an army of fifty or a hundred thousand men, finds instead of the credulity which accepts his opinions, only contempt for himself. The American Cæsar is an airy phantasm of a diseased imagination. In all ordinary, and most of the extraordinary, cases of local trouble, the police and the sheriff are equal to the emergency, but it was found in the riots of 1877, when States were paralyzed and their officers helpless, that in the popular mind the supreme sovereignty of the American people was represented by the uniform of the regular army, and through it sixty millions of citizens demanded the cessation of hostilities, the restoration of law and order, and the vindication of rights by the courts. It is the glory of the army and the pride of the nation, that since the formation of the Government no regiment or company of United States soldiers has ever joined the enemy, sympathized with insurrection, or sided with rebellion. That an efficient, thoroughly drilled, and equipped body of citizen soldiers should exist in every State—of which no better example exists than the National Guard of New York—is too self-evident for discussion; it keeps alive the martial spirit of patriotism and principle of voluntary service. But I have no fears of the fulfilment of Macaulay's direful forebodings. I have unlimited faith in the absorbent properties of American communities, and the solvent powers of American liberty. Let us take care of the Mosts, the Spies, and the Schwabs; and the press, the platform, the school, the church, and the English language, will make honest citizens of their followers and their descendants. Every man who leads a temperate and industrious life, and organizes himself into an anti-poverty society of one, has secured his independence and individual prosperity, and become a champion of order and a bulwark of law.

So long as the veterans of the Civil War can carry muskets and rally at command, the nation has a most effective army. But age, disease, and death are fast thinning their ranks. Their active service will soon be only glorious memories for the inspiration of others. Their story will be the recruiting sergeant of coming generations. Each of the great armies had its distinguish-

ing merit, but in the achievements and in the records of the Western forces, following the precedent of previous wars, are largely represented the genius and personality of great commanders. To the Army of the Potomac belongs the unique distinction of being its own hero. It fought more battles and lost more in killed and wounded than all the others; it shed its blood like water to teach incompetent officers the art of war, and political tacticians the folly of their plans; but it was always the same invincible and undismayed Army of the Potomac. Loyal ever to its mission and to discipline, the only sound it gave in protest of the murderous folly of cabinets and generals was the crackling of the bones as cannon-balls ploughed through its decimated ranks.

The verdict of history is already made up as to the value of its services, its sacrifices, and its victories, but perhaps not yet upon its commanders. All of them were brave soldiers, all of them were unequaled at the head of a division or a corps; but to make the combinations to overcome the Titanic forces of the unprecedented obstacles presented by nature, a hostile population, and a foe of equal power and prowess on the defensive line, was not their talent. From intermediate discussions we rise to the contemplation of two grand facts, standing like monuments at the beginning and close of its career: that it owed its existence to the masterly organizing abilities of McClellan, and ended the war under the superb generalship of Grant. As we recall the memory of the dead, the spirits of all the warrior heroes of the past come trooping before us. There are Alexander and Cæsar, Gustavus and the great Frederick, Napoleon and his marshals, Wellington and his generals, Washington and his compatriots; and they have enrolled in their company and encircled with their praise, Hancock and Hooker, Sumner and Sedgwick, Meade and Warren, Burnside and Reynolds, Kearny, Wadsworth, Custer, and Kilpatrick.

A good soldier does full honor to his adversary. Also Americans, though on the wrong side, no more formidable force of equal numbers ever marched or fought than the Army of Northern Virginia; and it had the rare fortune of being always under the command of one of the most creative and accomplished military minds of his time—General Lee. To conquer and capture such an army and captain, the Army of the Potomac must overcome what the greatest of tacticians has said was invincible; an

armed enemy in his own country, with the whole population venomously hostile, acting as spies, furnishing information, removing supplies, preparing ambuscades, and misleading the invader; and it did accomplish this military miracle. It was hard and trying to be marched and countermarched for naught; to be separated and paralyzed at the moment when a supreme effort meant victory; to be hurled against impassable defenses, and then waste months in repairing the mistake; but in God's mysterious providence it was the only means by which the end of the war should be a final settlement. Had the conflict closed by the capture of Richmond during the first or second, or even the third year it would have left an armed, defiant, and unconverted adversary, utilizing peace as a truce in which to recuperate for another blow, when sure of larger sympathy and support in the North. It required complete and utter exhaustion, and the humiliation of total and hopeless defeat, that, in absolute despair of revenge, reflection might calmly reason through the errors of the lost cause to the glowing realization that defeat was victory, that poverty would be the source of undreamed wealth, and that the striking of the chains from the limbs of the slave had unshackled the master. It was the answer to the Apostle's cry, "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!" And the disenthralled rebel in his rags began the life of a prosperous patriot.

The Army of the Potomac was composed of thinking bayonets. Behind each musket was a man who knew for what he was fighting, and intended when the war was over to return home and take up the peaceful implements of his trade or profession where he had dropped them. He understood the plan of campaign, and with unerring and terrible accuracy sized up his commander. The one soldier in whom he never lost confidence was himself. This army operated so near the Capital, that congressmen and newspapers directed its movements, changed its officers, and criticised its failures to conquer upon lines blue-penciled on Washington maps. It suffered for four years under unparalleled abuse, and was encouraged by little praise, but never murmured. It saw all its corps and division commanders sign a petition to the President to remove its General, and then despairingly but heroically marched to certain disaster at his order. It saw its General demand the resignation or court-martial of its corps and division

officers, and yet, undemoralized and undismayed, it charged under his successor in a chaos of conflicting commands.

"On to Richmond!" came the unthinking cry from every city, village, and cross-roads in the North; "On to Richmond!" shouted grave senators and impetuous congressmen; "On to Richmond!" ordered the Cabinet, no longer able to resist the popular demand, and the raw and untrained recruits were hurled from their unformed organizations and driven back to Washington. Then, with discipline and drill, out of chaos came order; the self-asserting volunteer had become an obedient soldier, the mass had been molded into a complex and magnificent machine, and it was the "Army of the Potomac." Overcoming untold difficulties, fighting with superb courage, it comes in sight of the spires of Richmond, and then, unable to succeed, because McDowell and his corps of thirty-four thousand are held back, it renews each morning and carries on every night in retreat the seven days' battle for existence, and, brought to bay at Malvern Hill, asserts its undaunted spirit in hard-won victory. It follows Pope, and marches, and falls back, pursues enemies who are not before it, and finds foes for which it is unprepared, and fights, and is beaten, under orders so contradictory and counsels so divided, that an army of European veterans would have disbanded. As soon as it recognized a general in whom it has confidence, the stragglers come from the bush and the wounded from the hospitals; regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps reform, and at Antietam it is invincible and irresistible. Every man in the ranks knows that the fortified heights of Fredericksburg are impregnable; that the forlorn-hope charges not into the imminent deadly breach, but into a death-trap, and yet, with unfaltering step, this grand army salutes its blind commander, and marches to the slaughter.

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs but to do and die."

Every private was aware of the follies of the Rappahannock campaign. He knew that the opportunity to inflict an irreparable blow upon the army of Lee had been trifled away, and that after reckless delays to make the movement, which at first would have been a surprise, conceived by the very genius of war, was then

mere midsummer madness; and yet this incomparable army, floundering through swamps, lost in almost impenetrable forests, outflanked, outmaneuvered, outgeneraled, decimated, no sooner felt the firm hand of Meade than they destroyed the offensive and aggressive power of the Confederacy in the three days' fighting at Gettysburg.

At last this immortal army of Cromwellian descent, of Viking ancestry, and the blood of Brian Boru, had at its head a great captain who had never lost a battle, and whom President Lincoln had freed from political meddling and the interference of the civil authorities. Every morning for thirty days came the orders to storm the works in front, and every evening for thirty nights the survivors moved to the command, "By the left flank, forward, march"; and at the end of that fateful month, with sixty thousand comrades dead or wounded in the Wilderness, the Army of the Potomac once more, after four years, saw the spires of Richmond. Inflexible of purpose, insensible to suffering, inured to fatigue, and reckless of danger, it rained blow on blow upon its heroic but staggering foe, and the world gained a new and better and freer and more enduring Republic than it had ever known in the surrender at Appomattox.

When Lincoln and Grant and Sherman, firmly holding behind them the vengeful passions of the Civil War, put out their victorious arms to the South and said, "We are brethren," this generous and patriotic army joined in the glad acclaim and welcome with their fervent "Amen." Twenty-two years have come and gone since you marched down Pennsylvania Avenue past the people's representatives, to whom you and your Western comrades there committed the Government you had saved and the liberties you had redeemed; past Americans from whose citizenship you had wiped with your blood the only stain, and made it the proudest of earthly titles. Call the roll. The names reverberate from earth to Heaven. "All present or accounted for." Here the living answer for the dead; there the spirits of the dead answer for the living. As God musters them out on earth, He enrolls them above; and as the Republic marches down the ages, accumulating power and splendor with each succeeding century, the van will be led by the Army of the Potomac.

STATUE OF HORACE GREELEY

ORATION AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF HORACE GREELEY
NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 20, 1890.¹

WHEN the Latin poet Horace wrote that he had reared for himself a monument more enduring than brass, he voiced the career of his namesake two thousand years after. We have ceased to be hero-worshippers, and the statue is no longer the expression of fame, but the index finger pointing to the worth or worthlessness of its subject. Art and the architect will live, but most of the works inspired by public partiality or private munificence will be for the galleries of the future like the unknown worthies of Rembrandt and Van Dyck for those of our time. But we unveil here the representation of the form and features of a man who won immortality by his services to his country and to mankind. Horace Greeley is our best type of self-made men, and of the career possible under American conditions. He soars far above the popular ideal, which rises only to the appreciation of the acquisition of money. He was very poor in his youth, and never rich, but his poverty was of the kind peculiar to our people. It neither degrades nor discourages. It accustoms to self-sacrifice; it educates fertility of resource; it is the spur of ambition. It sternly enforces the rule of the survival of the fittest. It has been the parent of the majority of the Presidents of the United States and of all our leaders of parties and of ideas.

The son of a New Hampshire farmer, whose best exertions could barely provide the simplest necessities of life for his family, educated mainly by his mother, and compelled while yet a boy to assist his parents by his labor and wages, enduring privation and hardship that he might send them a larger share of his earnings, his kindly and sympathetic nature absorbed that knowledge of struggling humanity and cultivated that sympathy with suffering which furnished the main-spring of his future activity. Hope and opportunity are the only capital of millions of young men, to whom the story of Horace Greeley is both lesson and guide. At

¹In Greeley Square, by J. Q. A. Ward (1830-1910). A replica stands before the Tribune Building in Printing House Square.—Ed.

twenty, with shambling gait, poor and badly fitting clothes, a most unpromising appearance and address, utterly ignorant of the world, without friends or acquaintances, and with only ten dollars in his pocket, he was in New York seeking his fortune and knocking vainly at the door of every printing-office in the city for employment. Forty years afterward the land was full of his fame and achievements. As a printer he was the best in the composing-room, but he was not satisfied. Determined to be independent and his own master, he met with failure in business, but was not discouraged. He tried with unabated cheerfulness and undaunted courage the avenues open to his training and abilities. Disaster and disappointment in one led him, not to lie down and give up, but to return and try another, until at last he found his place. His great work and invaluable services there are the significance of this ceremonial. His penny daily paper died. His high-toned and high-priced weekly found no support, but his experience was education and preparation for the great work of his life. His campaign paper, *The Log Cabin*, was both a revelation and a revolution in partisan literature. The young giant was now fitted for his task and founded the *New York Tribune*.

Nothing is more remarkable in our history as a people than the extraordinary difference in periods in the production of great men. It does not meet the case to say that emergencies bring them forth. If the standard be the names that will survive and be cherished by posterity, then the wealth of one generation emphasizes the poverty of another. Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson, then Webster and Greeley, then Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman, and in literature, Irving, and after an interval the glorious generation of Longfellow and Hawthorne. Beyond all other publicists Daniel Webster and Horace Greeley forced the issues which saved the country and gave them enduring places in our history. To Webster belongs the distinction of having converted his countrymen from States' rights to nationality; to Greeley the enforcement of the freedom of the slaves.

The time between 1840, when Horace Greeley in a large way influenced public opinion, and 1872, when he died, will always remain remarkable from the magnitude of the events with which it was crowded. It inherited or originated and settled questions of vast importance, not only to the United States but to the

world. It was pre-eminently the period of revolution and reconstruction. The men who guided opinion and action required and possessed creative genius and courage. During these years the slave power rose, culminated, and crumbled. The fight against the encroachments of slavery precipitated the Civil War, and the results of the Rebellion involved the remodeling of our institutions. The issues were so vast and far-reaching, they touched so nearly every interest and every home, that small men could temporarily fill large places. But the master minds who marshaled the forces for this tremendous conflict, and saw its necessities and outcome, were few. Impartial history will assign the leadership in this defense and crusade to Horace Greeley.

William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips were brilliant scouts, penetrating far in the advance, but contributing comparatively little to practical results. Lincoln, Seward, and Chase were the great commanders in the field of debate and action. But it was the intelligence of Mr. Greeley which forged the weapons and furnished the ideas, which day by day with unequalled vigor and lucidity described the wrongs and suggested the remedies, which carried into millions of homes every week conviction and enthusiasm for free soil and free men, which from an exhaustless reservoir of intellectual resources provided arguments and illustrations to statesmen, stump speakers, and country editors.

It was an unpopular side and involved personal danger and pecuniary loss, but Greeley never counted the cost when he thought he was right. Society ostracised, business men frowned, clubs passed resolutions of censure, and mobs threatened and howled, but they never swerved him from his course nor checked his pace. It was the fate of this master of controversies and indomitable fighter that time and again he was the victim of popular fury to the advocacy of ideas which afterward became the faith of the people. At one point and another of the long and desperate struggle every one of the political leaders hesitated, faltered, and compromised with the enemy, but this tribune of the people, speaking for the millions whom he had inspired by his ardor and equipped with his opinions, thundered for justice and against compromise with wrong. During the long journey through the wilderness, he was often compelled to hold up the feeble arms of many a faint-hearted Moses. Though always a non-combatant, yet when the flag was fired upon all the

fierce fire of his Scotch-Irish nature was aroused. He would bring the whole power of the nation immediately into the field and crush at one mighty blow the rebellion and its cause. While generals were issuing proclamations, congressmen squandering invaluable time, the North incredulous as to the seriousness of the struggle, and the rebel States with admirable skill and energy bringing all their resources to the front, he was shouting: "Action, action, action!" He knew that the emergency demanded the instant and overwhelming display of the power of the nation or a long war, at fearful cost of life and money and of doubtful issue, with an ever-changing public sentiment.

His passionate prayer was for a glorious republic, freed from the curse of slavery; its liberty the union and happiness of its people, its hospitality the hope of the world. His marvelous faculty for condensing an argument into a motto started the inspiring cry, "On to Richmond." The whole country took it up, and answered it in so savage a strain that the administration ordered the march.

The holiday excursion, broken, decimated, demoralized, fled from Bull Run to Washington, to curse him for their defeat. It was not for him to provide discipline or brains. But he was buried for a while under mountains of obloquy and abuse. He was made the victim of official stupidity, indiscretion, and incompetence.

Two years elapsed, hundreds of thousands of lives were lost, hundreds of thousands of homes were wrecked, and thousands of millions of dollars were spent or destroyed; the Confederacy had been permitted to gather all its resources and to receive in its partial success the encouragement of the foreign enemies of the great Republic, and then, with the people applauding, the best talent of the country in command, and overwhelming forces behind the commander, the armies moved on to Richmond and victory.

Sure of his great constituency, Greeley demanded on behalf of twenty millions of people the emancipation of the slaves. It startled the cabinet and terrified congress. It was discussed with bated breath in the church porch and on the public square. Though its author was only a private citizen, the President was compelled to reply. Mr. Lincoln's answer was a curt dismissal of the plea, but in the epigrammatic form which gave such force

and popular effect to his utterances. With resistless logic, impassioned eloquence, and unequalled lucidity, Mr. Greeley pressed the argument home to the consciences of the men and women of America. The rising tide of popular feeling beat against the conservative battlements at Washington, and one morning the world was electrified by the Emancipation Proclamation. It was the offspring of the imperious spirit and commanding influence of Horace Greeley. The war was over, the Union triumphant, and slavery destroyed. He had lived to see his prayers answered, and beyond his wildest dreams.

He had in him little of the spirit of Simeon, when he cried, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." He devoutly believed that God had always work yet to be done. His own grand, pure nature harbored no grudge; his judgment was not clouded by surviving enmities. As he would have gathered the whole power of the loyal people, and crushed the rebellion at one blow; as he would have weakened the Confederacy and emphasized the reprisals of war by striking the shackles from the slave; so, when Lee surrendered at Appomattox, and the victorious armies of the nation returned to their homes, his voice filled the land with a generous and patriotic plea for peace and forgiveness. First of all our leaders, he clearly saw that home rule, and not State rights, but State sovereignty were the foundation principles of the Federal Union. His lofty and daring spirit rose to the full height of this conception of the future of our country when he became a bondsman for Jefferson Davis. The act cost him the Governorship of New York, and led to the estrangement of friends and loss of money. But it was one of those staggering blows by which a strong man wakes up his countrymen, though he may be killed by the recoil. It enforced the not yet understood lesson of Appomattox, that reconciliation and unity would not come through drumhead courts-martial and trials for treason. Still impatient for the burial of war issues, for the blending of the people of the whole country into a common Americanism, which would concentrate their energies upon the development of the wealth and resources of the land, and as he believed give to the freedmen their political rights, he organized and led the revolt of 1872. Its labors and anxieties sapped his strength, its slanders and disappointments broke his heart. But his victorious spirit heard the last words of the great com-

mander General Grant echoing his sentiments, and has witnessed the nation advancing by leaps and bounds in prosperity and happiness under his policy.

Horace Greeley had profound faith in the power of public opinion. He abhorred war and violence in every form. He believed that ultimately and within the Constitution public opinion would root out slavery. He had intense disgust for the manipulating of caucuses and the packing of conventions. He distrusted politicians whose talent was wire-pulling. The voice of the people was the sound for which he was always listening. He originated the idea of a cheap daily paper, and revolutionized the journalism of his early days. His aim was not to make money, but to reach the masses. His ambition in starting the *Tribune* was to create a power which would broaden education and liberalize culture; which should support its party without being its slave; which could fearlessly expose its own rascals as well as unmask the enemy; which would give hospitable welcome to the discussion of theories and reforms which promised to benefit mankind. The ideal for which he worked was a newspaper for the family, which would be free from prurient news and putrid stories, and which parents would be glad to have their children read. He was the first party editor who was not governed by a subsidy for his paper or a salary for himself.

He founded that paradox, an independent party organ, which both follows and leads; which influences conventions and instructs congressmen; which more frequently foreshadows platforms and candidates than adopts them. Contemplating his idol and reviewing his life, he uttered this plaintive prayer: "Fame is a vapor; popularity an accident; riches take wings; the only earthly certainty is oblivion; no man can see what a day may bring forth; while those who cheer to-day will often curse to-morrow; yet I cherish the hope that the journal I projected and established will live and flourish long after I shall have moldered into forgotten dust; being guided by a larger wisdom, more unerring sagacity, to discern the right, though not by a more unfaltering readiness to embrace and defend it at whatever cost; and that the stone which covers my ashes may bear to future eyes the still intelligible inscription: 'Founder of the New York *Tribune*.'"

No man was ever more prone to make mistakes, but few, if any, ever displayed so much honesty in acknowledging them. If,

while pouring out his hot wrath against the offender, he discovered his error, he emptied the vial on himself. Fearless, impulsive, and frank to a degree, what he thought he said and said it hard. He indulged in no preliminaries, but struck out straight from the shoulder. He detested subterfuge or chicane, and his own mind and motives were transparent. He took the world into his confidence, and told without reserve who and what and why he loved or hated. The people appreciated and were proud of his childlike simplicity and manly courage, and had unquestioning faith in the purity of his purposes. When he was right he spoke as one inspired, and when he was wrong his quick admission or wailing repentance only deepened and strengthened his hold upon the millions who love and follow a leader upon whose honesty they can implicitly rely, and whose imperfections make him one of themselves.

Democracies sometimes give the hemlock to genius, but they always resent the appearance of perfection. That Greeley would lose his temper, and rave and tear like ordinary mortals, that he could be prodded into the most awkward and chilling profanity filled them with delight, and made this prohibitionist, abolitionist, devout religionist, and fierce reformer a popular idol. He was the most conservative of radicals and the most radical of conservatives. Mme. Roland awaiting her turn at the foot of the guillotine gave voice to the agony of her lofty spirit because of the degradation of the revolution, in the cry of "O Liberty, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

Reform has been the mask of demagogues and the shield of thieves, the pretense of charlatans and the shibboleth of fools, until the word is the incentive not to applause, but to inquiry. But he made the vocation of reformer noble. He was willing to try all things, yet ever holding fast to the good. That a principle or policy was encrusted with age, sanctioned by tradition, or sanctified by the approval of the past had no influence upon his judgment; that it was new and original, full of hopeful promise and the passion of the hour did not sweep him off his feet. His clear vision and the rifle-shot directness and swiftness of his reasoning powers both made him the great editor, and brought him at once face to face with the issue of a contest, the results of a reform, or the remedies for an evil. These qualities made him an unsafe party leader, but an invaluable ally of his party.

and its leaders. He cleared away the underbrush so rapidly, and built roads and bridges over mountains and streams so fast, that he often had constituencies at the front calling for their laggard or timid congressmen to come on and take their positions. The growth of many commanding centers has localized in a measure the metropolitan press, but through the weekly and semi-weekly he spoke to the people of every State. The city importer, the New England manufacturer, the Western farmer, the Whig planter of the South, the California miner, the logger in the forests of the Northwest, and the mechanic and the laborer everywhere, made field and mill, the camp at noonday and at night, the cross-roads and country churchyards, resound with controversies triumphantly carried on with the ideas and arguments of Horace Greeley. He saw a drinking custom about his boyhood home, imbedded in the universal sentiment of health and hospitality, making a community of drunkards, and became the first to sign the pledge of total abstinence, and kept it for life. The touch of his mother's hand was always on his head, the pulsations of her pious heart beating against his breast, and no impure thought ever escaped his lips; he loved and cherished his invalid wife with unswerving loyalty, and was devoted to his children; the labors of the week closed for him on Saturday night, and the Sabbath always found him in his accustomed seat in the church.

He advocated an amendment to the Constitution to subject the employees of the Government to sensible rules of civil service, thirty years before it found a friend in public life. He thundered for the binding of the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic States by continental railroads, to be laughed at as a visionary, and welcomed afterward as a benefactor. He proposed a homestead law for the distribution of the public domain among actual settlers, to find it ridiculed by all parties, and then become the foremost plank in the platform of his own party.

It is the weakness of many great minds to surround themselves with small men. The contrast pleases their vanity, and projects into prominence their superiority. It was at once the strength and magnanimity of Mr. Greeley that he called to his side the ablest assistants, and he had the faculty for finding talent and developing it. Among the most brilliant names in journalism will be found those of his associates and disciples, Henry J.

Raymond, George Ripley, Bayard Taylor, James S. Pike, Margaret Fuller, Park Benjamin, Sidney Howard Gay, and J. R. G. Hassard among those who have joined the majority; and, in the long and distinguished list of the living, Charles A. Dana, White-law Reid, John Hay, George W. Smalley, Charles Nordhoff, William Winter, John Russell Young, Amos Cummings, and Junius Henri Browne. His kindly interest in young men attracted them to him by the tenderest ties. He came to my defense in a hot controversy over my official acts in my youth, with the ardor and affection of a father, when I scarcely knew him; and, when in his last fatal fight he said he needed me, I followed him without question and ran for an office I did not want.

His personal peculiarities were some of the charms of his intercourse. I recall him absorbed in warm discussion at the table, devouring each course mechanically and ignorant of its quality or quantity, and rising in hot indignation when the taste of the Roman punch led him to imagine that his host had endeavored to impose upon his well-known temperance principles.

While Seward was Governor Mr. Greeley invited him to dinner for the purpose of discussing the policy and prospects of his administration and of the Whig party in the nation, but so intense and dramatic was the argument and programme of the host that it was long past midnight when they discovered that the dinner had not yet been ordered. To see Horace Greeley on the platform was to witness a signal triumph of mind over matter. The shambling gait, the unfashionable and never-fitting clothes, the awkward gestures, and the piping voice roused the mirth and ridicule of the audience. But as that vast and all-absorbing intelligence presented the subject and unfolded the argument; as the exhaustless stores of memory furnished the facts, and that faultless intellect presented the reasons; as the enthusiasm and fiery faith of the orator captivated his hearers and bore them along upon the torrent of his pure and vigorous English, they saw only the grand head, the lofty brow, the radiant features which made him look like a god.

He died at the close of one of the most passionate and envenomed of Presidential contests. He had electrified the country by a series of campaign speeches unequalled for brilliancy and versatility, and had been the target for unprecedented slander and abuse. But with his departing spirit, the clouds were lifted and

his countrymen saw their gain in his life, their loss in his death. His funeral fitly illustrated the estimate of his contemporaries and the judgment of posterity as to his place in the history of his times. Workingmen lost their day that they might with tearful eyes have a last look at the face of him who had done more to dignify and elevate labor and benefit the laborer than any man living or dead; and with the President and Cabinet, Congress and the Supreme Court as mourners, the Government adjourned to do him honor

"My life," he said, "has been busy and anxious, but not joyless. Whether it shall be prolonged for few or more years, I am grateful that it has endured so long, and that it has abounded in opportunities for good not wholly unimproved, and in experiences of the nobler as well as of the baser impulses of human nature."

As the flickering spark was expiring, the Puritan faith and hope, which had sustained him through all the trials of life, furnished his last words and found expression in the triumphant utterance, "I know that my Redeemer liveth. It is done." This statue will stand for centuries as a fitting memorial and loving tribute from his friends, but his monument is the prosperity of the Republic from the great measures he originated, the example of a worker's public-spirited life, the broken shackles of the slave, and the great journal which he founded.

MONUMENT AT LAKE GEORGE

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT PRESENTED TO
THE STATE OF NEW YORK BY THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL
WARS, AT LAKE GEORGE, SEPTEMBER 8, 1903.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We have been celebrating for many years the centennials of the battles of the Revolution, of the Declaration of Independence, of the adoption of the Constitution, and the inauguration of our first President. These ceremonies have been of incalculable educational value for the present and coming generations. Material prosperity, commercial ambition, the rewards of promotion and discovery in a new country, and the mad rush for wealth had caused the memory or knowledge of the deeds and men of the heroic days which made us a nation to pass almost into oblivion. We accepted the blessings of liberty as a matter of course without studying or thinking of or being inspired by the achievements and sacrifices of the fathers of the Republic. To-day we go back to the early time of preparation and discipline. From 1755 to 1759 the wilderness about Lakes George and Champlain was the field of struggle between the two strongest nations of the world for control, ownership, and government of the North American continent. A few thousand hardy pioneers and frontiersmen were fighting both for an empire and for the civilization and institutions which should govern it.

The English planted a fringe of settlements along the Atlantic Coast, but claimed the whole country to the Pacific Ocean by virtue of the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot. The French colonists built their cabins and laid out their farms along the St. Lawrence River, and by adventurous explorations found and occupied the vast regions about the great lakes and the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi.

No more courageous or capable travelers ever braved the dangers of the wilderness and its savage denizens and the perils of navigation on unknown waters than did the Jesuit Fathers La Salle, Hennepin, Joliet, and Marquette, who in birch bark

canoes and tiny and frail sloops sailed along the shores of Lakes Erie, Michigan, Huron, and Superior, up and down the Fox, Wisconsin, Illinois, Wabash, St. Croix, and Kankakee Rivers; and the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico. They established missions and raised the flag of France from New Orleans to Natchez, at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela, at Pittsburgh, at Chicago, at Detroit, at Niagara, at the outlet of Lake Ontario and on Lake Champlain and Lake George. Soldiers followed, and French fortresses commanded the country and the French monopolized the fur trade with the Indians all over the northwest, the middle west and the territories tributary to the Mississippi.

The French had greater faculty for friendship with the Indians than the English and made alliances with the powerful and warlike tribes who roamed and hunted over this vast area. The danger to the colonies was so imminent and border conflicts so common that they were brought to bury their differences and jealousies and act together. The wise and farsighted Franklin called a convention at Albany in 1754 and framed a plan for colonial union. The movement was premature and was rejected. But its discussion aroused public sentiment and prepared the way for the Confederation in 1776—twenty-two years afterwards. In 1754, as in 1776, Franklin's convention made Philadelphia the capital because it could be reached from all parts of the country in twenty days. Franklin's confederacy was self-preservative against the French and Indians, and he lived to see his idea of colonial union for liberty and independence adopted by the Continental Congress, he being one of its most conspicuous members.

England and France had been at war for more than two hundred years. Religious animosities had embittered racial differences. The American colonists had an inherited distrust and enmity for the French. The wonder at French achievement is enhanced when we remember that she is not a colonizing nation and that she occupied and held Canada and two-thirds of what is now the United States for nearly a century against an enemy at least twenty times more numerous.

The situation of the colonies was intolerable. The mother country was indifferent and action must be taken at once. Governor Dinwiddie dispatched Colonel George Washington,

already distinguished for courage and discretion, though only twenty-two years of age, at the head of a small force of Virginians to capture Fort Duquesne. They came in contact with a French outpost and Washington, carrying a musket, fired the first shot. He thus began in 1754 the war which ended in 1763 by the loss to the French of all their American possessions. The farmers' shot at Lexington which echoed around the world has long been the inspiration of patriotism and the theme of eloquence, but it is an interesting question whether without the gun of Washington in the Virginia wilderness, the battle of Lexington would ever have been fought. The French, who vastly outnumbered the Colonials, surrounded them and compelled their capitulation. On the 4th of July, 1754, Washington and the remnant of his little band, retaining their arms and accoutrements, marched out of their entrenchments and returned to their homes. The 4th of July marks the only day on which in thirty years of warfare the Father of his Country ever surrendered, and also the anniversary of the Independence of his Country which was mainly achieved by his wisdom and valor.

The mother country had now become fully aroused to the crisis and sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regulars, veterans of European wars. The Colonial Governors met him and planned the famous campaign of 1755.

Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, was to complete the conquest of that Province.

General Braddock was to capture Fort Duquesne and regain the Ohio Valley.

Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to win Fort Niagara and cut off communications with the Ohio and Mississippi.

Sir William Johnson, of New York, was to seize Crown Point and expel the French from the region of Lakes George and Champlain.

"Fort Duquesne can detain me only three or four days," said Braddock gayly to Governor Shirley as the Governors separated, "and then I will join you at Niagara." But this gallant and headstrong soldier was never to see the wonders of the great waterfall. Contemtpuous of the advice of Washington and recklessly brave, he fell in the ambush which nearly annihilated his army. So complete and terrible was the disaster that Governor Shirley, who had advanced as far as Oswego, hastily

retreated to Boston. Johnson had thirty-four hundred New York and New England troops, the latter under command of General Phineas Lyman, and camped between the Upper Hudson and Lake George. General Dieskau, the French commander, sailed up Lake Champlain with fourteen hundred men, attacked and routed a thousand of Johnson's troops who were marching to the relief of Fort Edward and then, with desperate courage and inferior force, attempted to stampede Johnson's main army in their camp. Johnson was wounded early in the engagement and was succeeded in command by General Lyman. After a stubborn contest the French were driven from the field. Dieskau, fighting valiantly, was wounded and taken prisoner. Although Johnson was victorious in this battle and the French retired to Crown Point the campaign was disastrous, inasmuch as the French were not driven away from the region of Lake George and Lake Champlain.

The campaigns of 1756 and 1757 on the part of the English were fatal and farcical. The British and Colonial forces outnumbered the French four to one, but were under the command of General Loudon, one of those phenomenal incompetent and blundering blockheads whom favor and seniority advance occasionally to the highest positions. He was before Louisburg with twelve thousand regulars and sixteen war vessels, while the French had only four thousand men available. Instead of assaulting and capturing the fortress, as he easily could have done, he planted vast fields of onions to keep off the scurvy and then hastily retreated to New York, where, in a causeless panic, he proposed to fortify Long Island so as to be secure from the terrible French after they had won the city. In the meantime the French became masters of the whole Champlain and Lake George country, destroyed Oswego, made Ticonderoga and Crown Point well-nigh impregnable, compelled the surrender of Fort William Henry, and drove the English out of the valley of the Ohio. France closed the campaign in possession of the most magnificent colonial domain ever held by any nation. It was many times greater on the North American Continent than the combined possessions there of England and Spain.

The situation was dramatic. Both empire and the destinies of mankind were at stake. France at that period represented all that was despotic and reactionary, while the English people

on both sides of the Atlantic had Magna Charta, the bill of rights, and representative government. Arbitrary kings and cabinets might check but could not stop the onflowing and rising tide of civil and religious liberty. The English colonies then contained nearly two millions of people, who claimed the continent but could not venture more than a few hundred miles from the Atlantic Coast; while the French, with a population of about one hundred thousand, by a most skillful and tactical system of forts and outposts held possession of eighty per cent. of the country.

As in all grave crises in history, the occasion called for a leader. There were several among the Colonials who afterwards became distinguished in the War of the Revolution. But the home government feared to give freedom to such activities. Every movement and policy was controlled from London, and through the royal governors of the provinces. They refused to Washington and the Colonial officers any recognition in rank in the army. General Loudon was an example of the possibilities of defeat to the most righteous cause supported by an enthusiastic people and with overwhelming superiority in numbers and equipment under an incompetent commander.

A handful of masterful men have directed the destinies of mankind and shaped the course of history. After years of blundering, stupidity, and pig-headedness, Pitt, the great commoner, became Prime Minister and laid the foundation of modern England. The first faculty of a statesman is that quick appreciation of character and equipment which unerringly selects the men best fitted for the task assigned them. Pitt, undismayed by disasters and defeats, grasped the situation. He saw that the forces for victory were available, dismissed the failures and fools, secured a grant from Parliament of sixty millions of dollars for the campaign, proclaimed that he would not be satisfied unless every foot of soil held by France in America had been captured, and then selected Generals Abercrombie, Amherst, Howe, and Wolfe to command the armies. Fifty thousand men, more than two-thirds of them colonial volunteers, were placed in the field. The plan of campaign was to attack with overwhelming force the widely separated strongholds of the French. General Amherst captured Louisburg and Prince Edward Island with a vast amount of military stores. Forbes with nine thous-

and men marched against Fort Duquesne. The advance was defeated, but on the approach of the Colonials, commanded by Washington, the garrison fired the Fort and fled down the Ohio. The victorious army raised the British flag over the ruins of Fort Duquesne and named the site Pittsburgh in honor of the great Minister. Thus did England's most enlightened and far-sighted statesman receive significant immortality in the New World, consolidated under one government by his genius, in having the gateway of the West and the centre of the productive wealth and manufacturing enterprise of the country bear his name. Sir William Johnson reduced Fort Niagara and cut off communication between Canada and the Mississippi and Ohio. These victories were won with little effort. It was the crushing process of superior numbers admirably led. But around Lake George and over these wooded hills and valleys the fighting was desperate and the struggle fierce. The fortunes of France were in the hands of Montcalm, one of the most brilliant soldiers of the age, but with only four thousand men to do battle against the encircling hosts of the enemy. He hurled fifteen thousand from the ramparts of Ticonderoga, inflicting upon the assaulting party a loss of nineteen hundred and sixteen, and compelled their retreat after a few hours' battle. But he saw the hopelessness of the contest when in all Canada he could count on only seven thousand against fifty thousand, flushed with victory, gathering from the smoking ruins of Fort Duquesne, Niagara, and Frontenac for the finish from Lake Champlain and Lake George to the St. Lawrence and Quebec. He sent a despairing cry to the French Ministry: "Peace, Peace; no matter what the boundaries!" But the French King vacillated and Pitt was relentless. So when Amherst in the next campaign had conquered Lake Champlain and its territory, Montcalm abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point and concentrated all his forces for the protection of Quebec.

This Colonial War, which lasted to within two years of the length of the struggle of the Revolution, and whose issues were so tremendous, occupies only a few chapters in American and scarcely a page in European history. It is remembered in school books and popular recollection mainly by the heroism and death of Wolfe and Montcalm. It was marked by savage conflicts, Indian massacres, numberless deeds of valor, and countless epi-

sodes of marvelous adventure; but, in all great wars and civic contests time obliterates and eliminates until one name typifies the era and its outcome. Most of the actors and events are forgotten, save to the student or the antiquary, except William Pitt and General James Wolfe, and the incident of Washington's heroism and hairbreadth escapes on Braddock's bloody field. Pitt and Wolfe have fitting memorials among England's mighty dead in Westminster Abbey, while Washington lives in the hearts of his countrymen.

The fight on the Plains of Abraham, after the scaling of the heights in the rear of Quebec by Wolfe and his army, was one of the decisive battles of history. Romance, eloquence, and poetry have given it memory and lustre beyond many of the greatest and bloodiest battles of the past. Though the numbers engaged were insignificant, few, if any, conflicts have been followed by such far-reaching results, affecting the destinies of nations and the liberties of mankind.

Wolfe fell mortally wounded. "They run! they run!" shouted his companions. "Who run?" "The French are flying everywhere," was the reply. "Do they run already?" "Yes," was their answer. "Then," said Wolfe, "I die happy," and fell back into the arms of his friends. At the same moment Montcalm, who had been wherever the fight was thickest and peril greatest, was stricken down. "Shall I survive?" he asked the surgeon. "But a few hours at most," was the sorrowful reply. "So much the better," said the French hero, "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec."

The war which began with Washington's musket fire on the 26th of May, 1754, ended with the fall of Quebec the 17th of September, 1759. It continued on the ocean for three years longer and then, in 1763, its issues were settled by the Treaty of Peace of Paris. In that treaty France surrendered to England all her possessions in North America except Louisiana, and that territory she was forced to give to Spain. The vast and fertile area now comprised in twenty-four of the most populous and prosperous states of the American Republic and the whole of Canada were lost forever to France and her people.

The benefits of this war to the American people cannot be overestimated. It was the school of the Revolution. It accustomed the Colonies to act in concert where they had common

interests. It brought their public men into familiar intercourse and established that strongest of ties among the people of the country, the comradeship of soldiers in the camp, the march and battle. Washington and most of the commanders in the Continental army were trained during these five years by the ablest generals of Great Britain. In recurring recruitment by the expiration of terms of enlistment a large proportion of able-bodied youths of the various colonies had large and valuable experience in the art of war. They served with veterans of European campaigns and under famous generals of the Old World, and they fought soldiers of France who had seen service on many a Continental battlefield. This horizontal view dissipated their dread of regulars, gave them confidence in themselves, and a feeling of superiority for fighting in a new and undeveloped country.

The strength as well as the rights of the people of the colonies was demonstrated. The struggle stimulated a keen and widespread discussion of the relations of the colonies to the mother country, of their equal right with Englishmen at home in every guarantee of freedom and representation and also a large and illuminating discussion of the fundamental principles of liberty, which were philosophical toys among men of genius in France, but produced a tremendous impression upon the colonists.

If England and France had come to an agreement over their home disputes and then in a rough and ready way partitioned these far-away and poorly appreciated provinces, the fate of our forefathers might have been sealed. They could not have contended against Great Britain on the Atlantic, and this vigilant, aggressive and grasping enemy north of the headwaters of the Hudson and west of the Alleghanies. The clock marking the progress of American development in institutions and resources would never have struck the jubilant hours of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The harsh conditions of the Treaty of Paris left France not only bereft of her magnificent empire in North America, but humiliated and vindictive. The tragic tale of the heartless outrage on the Acadians gave fury to the passions of King and nobles which was shared by the army and navy and in peasants' cottages in every nook and corner of France.

They had no animosity against the Colonials. It was all for

England. They impatiently waited for the time to strike. French monarchy, Bourbon and despotic, had no sympathy with the lofty aspirations of the American people for liberty upon the foundation of the charter framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and voiced in the burning phrases of the Declaration of Independence. But when we had demonstrated that with some assistance success would be assured, the French government saw that the hour of retribution and revenge had come. In making an alliance with the struggling, almost despairing, young Republic and sending fleets and armies to our aid, the King and his cabinet entered upon the most popular war in the history of his house; to wrest from England those lost and bitterly lamented provinces and to build up a new power against her upon the soil taken from France under such profoundly mortifying conditions, made the contest a holy war. The motive of the Government detracts in no measure from the gallantry of Lafayette and our gratitude to him. He and others opened the eyes of their country, but this youth of twenty could have accomplished little at Versailles, had he not been able by his rank and position to secure a hearing and so arrest the frivolities of the Court and voice the feelings of his countrymen by showing that the hour had come.

The fruits of the exasperation over the Treaty of Paris were gathered by us again nearly a half century later. Napoleon had regained Louisiana from Spain by the gift to a Bourbon Prince of the bauble of a toy kingdom. He saw that with Great Britain's command of the sea it might be captured by her navy. To prevent her from securing this vast territory, the control of the mouth of the Mississippi, and a dominating influence in the Western Hemisphere became part of his plan. He had inherited the national shame and resentment of 1763. To our commissioners who were endeavoring to make terms for the free navigation of the Mississippi, his answer was quick and peremptory. "You can have the whole territory." This splendid domain, which made possible our Western development, consolidated our Union, and gave us so much of the wealth, power, and happiness which we enjoy, is a legacy of the war to whose Colonial heroes we here to-day dedicate this monument.

CENTENNIAL OF NEW YORK STATE

ADDRESS AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE FORMATION
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE AT KINGSTON, NEW
YORK, JULY 30, 1877.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Centennial celebrations crowd upon us. Appropriate commemorations of events of the Revolutionary period are the pleasure and duty of the year. Most of them are upon historic battle-fields, and recall the feats of arms of our victorious ancestors. The occasion which calls us together has deeper significance than any battle. It is the anniversary of the declaration and establishment of those principles of constitutional liberty, without which the Continental soldier had fought and died in vain. The story of the formation and expression of popular opinion upon popular rights during the Colonial era, its development in the Constitution of 1777, and its results for a century, can only be sketched in the limits of an address. Unlike the other colonies, New York had no chartered rights; there were no limitations on the royal prerogative, and it was only by long and continued struggles that any immunities or privileges were secured.

The Dutch had brought from Holland ideas of toleration and liberty, of which that country was for a time the only asylum in the world; the English colonists were firm in their devotion to representative government. By every process short of revolution during the early period of English rule, the arbitrary exactions of the royal Governors were resisted, and the demands for an Assembly of the people never ceased. The claim was based upon the natural and inherent rights of a free people.

In 1683 the Home Government, unable longer to resist, called together an Assembly elected by the people. It was the dawn of representative government in New York. The first Assembly of our ancestors immediately asserted and enacted into laws the fundamental principles of civil liberty. They passed laws for a triennial Assembly; they declared all power to vest in the Governor, Council, and people met in General Assembly. The privi-

leges of members of Parliament were conferred upon the Assembly and its members; their consent must be had to the levy of any tax, and all the guarantees contained in Magna Charta, in the Bill of Rights, in the Habeas Corpus Act, together with trial by jury and freedom of conscience in matters of religion, were declared to be the rights, liberties, and privileges of the inhabitants of New York. They created the township—that school of self-government—provided the civil divisions upon the plan which has prevailed substantially ever since, and organized superior and inferior courts for the administration of justice. The rights and liberties thus established were often violated and arbitrarily suspended or denied, but every repetition of such tyranny only served to inflame to passionate devotion the people's love of liberty, and to prepare the way for the Declaration of Independence. Ninety-three years after this memorable assertion of popular rights, petition and remonstrance having alike failed, the people determined to peril life and fortune to maintain and enlarge them. In 1776 New York was without a regular government. The Council was dissolved; the General Assembly prorogued, and the royal Governor a fugitive under the protection of the guns of the British fleet.

The Provincial Congress sitting in New York owed its existence to the necessities of the times. It was a revolutionary body, its only charter an election by the people. On the 15th of May of that year the Continental Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, adopted a resolution requesting the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, "where no government sufficient for the exigencies of their affairs had been established, to adopt such government as should in the opinion of the representatives of the people best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general." They also recommended the suppression of all authority derived from the Crown of Great Britain, and the assumption and exercise of government under authority from the people of the colonies. Of the thirteen colonies, all except Rhode Island and Connecticut adopted the recommendation. Their charters did not reserve to the Crown the control over or veto upon their internal affairs, and with them such action was unnecessary. Virginia's Constitution was first, and New York's fifth, in the order of adoption.

A few days after the passage of this resolution the Provincial Congress met in New York; Gouverneur Morris, a delegate from the County of Westchester, then but twenty-four years of age, signalized his entrance into public life by urging immediate action, in a speech remarkable for its courage and radicalism, and its strong presentation of the thought of the time. He boldly declared that reconciliation with the Mother Country was a delusion; liberty and security could be had only by independent government; and moved that a committee be appointed to draw up a plan for the frame of the government. These men, acting upon well-understood principles, and jealous of every assumption of power, thought that this Congress was not elected for this purpose.

A committee was finally appointed, to whom the whole subject was referred, and on the 27th of May they reported "that the right of framing, creating, or remodeling civil governments, is and ought to be in the people"; that the old form of government was dissolved, and a new form was absolutely necessary; and that, as doubts existed whether the Provincial Congress had power to act, the people of the colony be called to elect a new Congress specially instructed upon the question of a new government. This report is remarkable as the earliest, clearest, and most emphatic declaration of the doctrine of popular sovereignty. It was New York's contribution to American liberty, learned by more than half a century of incessant struggle of the representatives elected by the people with the representatives of the royal power.

The report of the committee was adopted, and on the 31st a series of resolutions, prepared by Mr. Jay, was passed, calling upon the several counties to elect a new body, with power to form a new government, and instructed also upon the question of united colonial independence. In the mean time the seat of war was transferred to New York. On Sunday afternoon of the 30th of June the British fleet and army under Lord Howe having entered the harbor, the Congress, apprehensive of an attack by the enemy, resolved that the next Congress should meet at White Plains, in the County of Westchester, and adjourned. On the 9th of July, 1776, the newly elected delegates met at the courthouse in that place and elected General Woodhull President, and John McKesson and Robert Berrian Secretaries. During

the forenoon a letter was received from the delegates of New York in the Continental Congress, inclosing the Declaration of American Independence, which had been adopted on the 4th. It was immediately read and referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jay, Yates, Hobart, Brashier, and Wm. Smith. It was a critical moment for these men. They had been just elected; only a few hours had elapsed since they had qualified and entered upon their duties, and now their first legislative act was to make up their record upon an issue which, if successful, made them patriots; if it failed, traitors and felons. How firm was their resolve, how clear their purpose, how serene their minds, is evidenced by the fact that on the afternoon of the same day the committee reported resolutions concurring in the Declaration, fully adopting it, and instructing our delegates in the General Congress to support the same, and give their united aid to all measures necessary to obtain its object.

The Convention immediately adopted the report. On the morning of the next day—the 10th of July—this body “Resolved and ordered, that the style and title of this House be changed from that of the ‘Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York,’ to that of ‘The Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York;’” and thus on the 10th day of July, 1776, the State of New York was born. In the afternoon of the 10th, they resolved to enter on the 16th upon the formation of a State government; but by that time the situation of affairs here became too alarming for deliberation. Washington was contemplating the abandonment of New York. British ships of war were anchored off Tarrytown, within six miles of where they were sitting. Their whole attention was occupied in raising troops and supplies, and providing for the public order. On the 16th they postponed the question till the 1st of August. In the mean while they provisionally ordained that all magistrates and civil officers well affected toward independence continue the exercise of their duties until further orders, except that all processes thereafter must issue in the name of the State of New York; and declared it to be treason and punishable with death for any one living within the State and enjoying the protection of its laws to adhere to the cause of the King of Great Britain or to levy war against the State in his behalf.

With dangers threatening on every hand, the British fleet in

possession of New York Bay, the Hudson River, and Long Island Sound, a veteran army in overwhelming numbers but a few miles distant, thus boldly and fearlessly did the Representatives of New York assert her sovereignty. On the 27th of July the Convention found it necessary to remove to Harlem, and there, on the 1st of August, on motion of Gouverneur Morris, and seconded by Mr. Duer, a committee was appointed to prepare and report a constitution or form of government.

This committee was composed of the most eminent men in the Convention and in the Commonwealth. For a generation after independence was achieved a majority of them continued to receive, in positions of honor and trust, the highest marks of the confidence and affection of their countrymen. Their labors in the Cabinet and in Congress, in the State Legislature and upon the Bench, and in the Diplomatic Service, form the brightest pages in the history of the Nation and the State.

John Jay was Chairman, and his associates were Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, William Duer, Abraham and Robert Yates, General Scott, Colonel Broome, Mr. Hobart, Colonel De Witt, Samuel Townshend, William Smith, and Mr. Wisner. The committee were to report on the 16th of August, 1776; but such was the perilous condition of the State, and so manifold the duties of the members of the Convention, that no report was made till March, 1777. The Convention meanwhile, by the alarming situation of affairs, was migrating from place to place, and performing every class of public duty. It was a Committee of Public Safety; it was providing the ways and means to continue the contest; its members were now serving in the Continental Congress, and again with the army; they were acting as judges and negotiators. To-day they were flying before the enemy, to-morrow furnishing protection for the sorely pressed Commonwealth. At one time meeting at Kingsbridge, then at Odell's in Phillips' Manor, then at Fishkill, Poughkeepsie, and finally at Kingston. At Fishkill they supplied themselves with arms and ammunition, and thereafter legislated with their swords by their sides—literally building the peaceful fabric of constitutional government in the very presence of the alarms, the perils, and the carnage of war. On the 6th of March, 1777, at Kingston, the committee appointed to prepare a form of government were required to report on the following Wednesday, and that

day, the 12th, the committee made a report which was read by Mr. Duane.

The draft was drawn by John Jay, and is in his handwriting. This draft was under discussion until the 20th of April, and underwent some amendments and additions. The leading minds in the debates, and in the introduction of the amendments adopted, were John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, and Mr. Duane. The Constitution, however, was finally passed almost as it came from the hands of Mr. Jay, and was adopted with one dissenting voice on the 20th of April, 1777. It was the evening of Sunday; the President, General Ten Broeck, was absent, and also the Vice-President, General Pierre Van Cortlandt; but revolutions know neither days nor individuals. General Leonard Gansevoort, acting as President *pro tem.*, attested the document.

The same night Robert R. Livingston, General Scott, Gouverneur Morris, Abraham Yates, John Jay, and Mr. Hobart were appointed a committee to report a plan for organizing and establishing the form of government. They next directed one of the secretaries to proceed immediately to Fishkill, and have five hundred copies of the Constitution, without the preamble, and twenty-five hundred with the preamble, printed, and instructed him to give gratuities to the workmen to have it executed with dispatch. They then resolved that the Constitution should be published on the next Tuesday, in front of the court-house, at Kingston; and the village committee were notified to prepare for the event. This latter body seem expeditiously and economically to have performed their duty by erecting a platform upon the end of a hogshhead, and from this, Vice-President Van Cortlandt presiding, Robert Berrian, one of the secretaries, read this immortal document to the assembled people. The Convention having promulgated their ordinance for the formation of the State Government, and filled up, provisionally, the offices necessary for carrying it on until an election could be held, and appointed thirteen of their number to act as a Committee of Safety until the Legislature should assemble, adjourned *sine die* on the 13th of May, 1777. Thus passed into history this remarkable Convention. In lofty patriotism, steadfastness of purpose, practical wisdom, and liberal statesmanship, it had few if any, equals, even among the legislative bodies of extraordinary

merit which marked the era. Its address to the people, drafted by Jay, and declared by Jefferson the ablest document of the period, is a most compact and eloquent statement of the fundamental principles of free government, and was republished by Congress for the whole country, and translated into foreign tongues. Of the many distinguished men who were its members three stand out conspicuously, and form an unequaled triumvirate of social distinction, character, culture, and intellect. They were John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and Robert Livingston. All young men, possessing the best education of the time, belonging to the wealthiest families in the State, by birth and opportunity certain of royal favor, and having the largest stake in loyalty and stable government, they yet risked all, and periled their lives for civil liberty and self-government. John Jay became Governor, Cabinet Minister, Foreign Envoy, and the first Chief-Justice of the United States. Gouverneur Morris distinguished himself in the councils of the nation and the diplomatic service of the country. Robert R. Livingston rendered the most eminent services both to this State and to the United States, and in foreign courts. Their examples, efforts, and contributions in educating and nerving the colonies to the Declaration of Independence, in the events which led to the recognition of the Republic, and in moulding the internal regulations and foreign policy of the new Government, are the special pride of New York and the glory of the nation. No one can to-day read the Constitution of 1777 without wondering how little we have been able to improve upon it in one hundred years. When we consider that purely representative government was then an almost untried experiment, this instrument becomes more and more an enduring monument to the wisdom and foresight of its framers. It begins with a preamble setting forth the causes which led to the formation of a separate government and the authority conferred upon the Convention by the people to do this work. It recites at length the Declaration of Independence, and the unanimous resolution of the Convention on the 9th of July, 1776, indorsing the Declaration and instructing the New York delegates in the Continental Congress to give it their support. "By virtue of which several acts and recitals," says the preamble, "all power whatever in the State hath reverted to the people thereof, and this Convention hath, by their suffrages and free choice, been ap-

pointed and authorized to institute and establish such a government as they shall deem best calculated to secure the rights and liberties of the good people of this State."

Its first section, which was unanimously agreed to, is the keynote of its spirit. It ordained, determined, and declared that no authority, on any pretense whatever, should be exercised over the people or members of this State, but such as should be derived from and granted by the people. The declarations of 1683 were to secure for British colonists every liberty granted by the Crown to the British subject. The purpose of the men of 1777 was to substitute the popular will for the royal prerogative, and natural rights for charters wrung from the reluctant hands of hereditary power

Their experience with the colonial Governors had made them jealous and suspicious of individual authority, and so, to prevent the passage of laws inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution or the public good, they placed the veto power in the hands of a council of revision, consisting of the Governor, the Chancellor, and the Judges of the Supreme Court. All bills passed by the Legislature were to be submitted to them, and their veto was absolute, unless the bill was repassed by two-thirds of each House.

It followed the English model in its Legislature, and created two bodies, Senate and Assembly, and vested in them all legislative power. The Senate, twenty-four in number, was to be elected for four years by the freeholders of their districts having freeholds of the value of over one hundred pounds, and the Assembly of seventy members for one year, by freeholders possessing freeholds of the value of twenty pounds, or renting tenements of the yearly value of twenty shillings and paying taxes. Provision was made for increasing both branches, but the Senate was never to exceed one hundred, or the Assembly three hundred. It was the universal belief of the time that those who paid the taxes and supported the Government should govern. Universal suffrage was not deemed an inherent right, but a privilege to be hedged about with restrictions and limitations; and while we have enlarged the limit, our legislation has always held to the theory, until recently, as to people of color, and still as to women, and minors, and others. It was the change of sentiment on this great question which led to the Convention and new Constitution of 1821. The executive power was vested in a

governor and lieutenant-governor, to be chosen for three years, and to this term we have returned by an amendment adopted in 1874. The judicial power was vested in a chancellor, and judges of the Supreme Court; and local county courts and a probate judiciary were constituted; and they respectively held during good behavior, and until sixty-five years of age; while a final appellate court, both in law and equity, was formed by the Senate, the Chancellor, and the Judges of the Supreme Court. Says the most eminent authority of our time: "The first New York judiciary administered public justice and protected private rights, during the whole period of its existence, in a manner which satisfied our people and won applause from all disinterested observers."

The appointing power was vested in a council of appointment, consisting of four senators, selected annually by the Assembly who, with the Governor, were to form the council. To this body was given the appointment and removal of all officers in the State, except the chancellor, judges of the Supreme Court and first judges of counties. As the State increased in wealth and population the power and patronage of this council became enormous. It controlled the politics of the Commonwealth for forty years, and at the time of its abolishment had within its gift fifteen thousand offices. Such parts of the common law of England and the statute law of Great Britain and the colony of New York, not inconsistent with the independence of the State, as were in force on the 19th day of April, 1775, were declared to be the law of New York, thus deliberately fixing in the fundamental law the day when the British soldiers fired upon the patriots at Lexington as the close forever of the supremacy of British authority.

The manner of voting was the subject of much discussion in the Convention. The object was to get the freest and most unbiased expression of the popular will. At first the advocates of the *viva voce* vote seem to have had the majority; but this Convention was wonderfully free from prejudice, or pride of opinion, or slavery to precedent. As stated in the Constitution, their object was to do that which best "would tend to preserve the liberty and equal freedom of the people." They were willing to try fairly any reasonable experiment. While the vote by ballot was negatived by two-thirds, a compromise was adopted by thirty-three to three, ordaining that, after the termination of the

war, the Legislature should provide for all elections by ballot, and if after full and fair trial, it was found less conducive to the safety and interest of the State, the *viva voce* practice might be restored. In 1787 the requisite law was enacted for voting by ballot, and that method has continued ever since.

The question of religious tolerance excited great interest and the longest debate. By personal experience and family tradition these men were very familiar with the results of bigotry and intolerance. With the exception of Holland, there was scarcely a place in the world where religious freedom was permitted. John Jay, true to his Huguenot recollections and training, threw the weight of his great influence and ability on the side of restriction. He moved to "except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome until they should take oath that they verily believed that no pope, priest, or foreign authority hath power to absolve the subjects of the State from allegiance, and unless they renounce the false, wicked, and damnable doctrine that the pope has power to absolve men from their sins." This was voted down by nineteen to ten, and it was then moved "that this toleration shall not extend to justify the professors of any religion in disturbing the peace or violating the laws of this State." This too was rejected, and the Convention, to their immortal honor and glory, established liberty of conscience in these memorable words: "This Convention doth, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this State, ordain, determine, and declare that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind." Thomas Jefferson forced a like expression from Virginia, but with that exception, New York alone among the thirteen States began its existence with absolute and untrammelled religious liberty.¹

The Constitution provided for the naturalization of foreigners, for trial by jury, for a militia service with recognition of the Quakers, and for the protection of Indians within the State limits. Acts of attainder were prohibited; no person was to be disfranchised, except by law of the land or the judgment of his peers; freedom of debate in legislative bodies was secured; parties

¹Rhode Island established religious freedom and entire liberty of conscience in her colonial days. In 1728 Roman Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans, and Pagans were guaranteed liberty of conscience, though denied political rights; and in 1783 even this last restriction was removed.—*Ed.*

impeached or indicted for crimes were to be allowed counsel as in civil cases; and the Legislature were prohibited from instituting any court except such as should proceed according to the course of the common law.

Pause for a moment and reflect upon the conditions under which this Constitution was prepared and adopted. Its framers in perpetual peril of their lives; at some period during their deliberations, every county in the State invaded by the enemy; devoting most of their time to the public defense and the protection of their families, without precedent to guide them, save the English model, their own experience, and thoughtful study of the principles of liberty. "Our Constitution," said Mr. Jay, in his letter to the President of the Convention, "is universally approved, even in New England, where few New York productions have credit." The verdict of posterity is unanimous and emphatic, that it deserves a high place among the few immortal documents which attest and determine the progress of the people, and the growth and defense of human liberty. Its principal features were incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, and followed by a majority of the new commonwealths, which from time to time were admitted into the Union. The men whose virtues we celebrate here to-day did not build better than they knew. It is the crowning merit of their work that it fulfilled its purpose. The peril of their position and the time, nearly the darkest and most hopeless of the Revolution, so purified their actions and intensified their thoughts that reason became almost prophecy. The brilliance of the promise is equaled by the splendor of the performance. The salient principles of the old Constitution underlie the new; and every present effort to abandon other experiments and restore the ancient forms, is the best tribute posterity can pay to the marvelous wisdom of the members of our first State Convention. The Constitution of 1777 remained in force over forty years, and then with some minor modifications, as the extension of suffrage and the concentration of more power in the Governor, it continued substantially unchanged until 1846. The public improvements of the State, its growth in population, and local necessities, demanded some amendments; and to provide for the public debt, to limit the debt-contracting power, and to enlarge the judiciary, the Convention of 1846 was called together. While preserving many of the

essential features of the old Constitution, this Convention made changes which radically altered our scheme of State administration. The Governor was stripped of nearly all power, the authority of the Legislature was restricted, and appointments to office and local administration given directly to the people. The whole civil service, which for seventy years had been appointed by the Council of Appointment and the Governor and Senate, was reduced to elective offices. The Judiciary, which had been selected by the executive, and held its place during good behavior, was submitted to popular nomination and election, and very short terms of service. The whole instrument is a protest against the concentration of power in any branch of the government, and a demand for its surrender at the shortest possible intervals by the executive, the legislative, and the judicial officers, back again to the people. It cut up and subdivided, for the election of the Legislature, the large districts, with their guarantee of larger men for representatives, and made statesmanship difficult in proportion as it multiplied the opportunities and increased the influence of the local politician. It so widely distributed official authority and responsibility that each soldier of a vast army of placemen was accountable only to the hazards of a re-election at the end of a brief term, and the Governor was the head of an administration beyond the reach of appointment, removal, or control by him. The wisdom of the revolution, especially in the Judiciary, has never ceased to be doubted, and within the past five years, by duly adopted amendments, more permanency and dignity have been given to our higher and appellate courts, by reorganizing them upon a more harmonious basis, with more symmetry and concentration, and longer terms of service. The tendency of recent constitutional reform has been to old methods in respect to the executive, both in regard to his length of service and general powers, and happily to drive from the Legislature special legislation for the benefit of individuals, corporations, or localities, and compel the enactment of such general laws as will bear equally in both grant and limitation upon all, giving to none the exclusive benefits and franchises of the State. But the methods provided by the Constitution of 1846 to preserve the credit of New York, to reform and simplify the practice and codify the laws, are worthy of all praise, and have been adopted by many of the other States. Let us hope

that very soon our fundamental law may be still further amended to stop the increase of local and municipal debt—the source and fountain of extravagance, speculation, and fraud, and the greatest curse of our time.²

This brief review of our constitutional history leads naturally to an inquiry as to what practical results have been obtained by these principles and plans of government. The first election for State officers and members of the Legislature was held in June, 1777, in all the counties not in possession of the enemy, by the officers appointed by the Convention. A majority of the Council of Safety sought to control the matter by nominating Philip Schuyler for Governor, and George Clinton for Lieutenant-governor. As Jay said, in proclaiming these nominations: "Our Constitution is universally approved and does honor to our State. Let us not lose our credit in committing the government of it to men inadequate to the task. These gentlemen are respectable abroad; their attachment to the cause is confessed, and their abilities unquestionable. Let us endeavor to be as unanimous as possible." Notwithstanding this powerful nomination, forty-one candidates ran, 13,179 votes were cast, and General George Clinton was elected both Governor and Lieutenant-governor. He resigned the latter office, and General Pierre Van Cortlandt, as President of the Senate, became Lieutenant-governor.

The newly-elected Governor was cast in the mould of the sternest and most inflexible patriotism. The highest office in the gift of the people had come to him unsolicited, but he hesitated long before accepting it. Regardless of personal sacrifice or ambition, he wanted first clearly to see whether his duty to the cause could be best performed in the field or the executive chair. The Council of Safety, restive under their great responsibilities, demanded that he immediately leave his command and assume the helm of state. Washington and Putnam advised his acceptance, and among the expressions of opinion from all quarters the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, at Kingston, addressed him a most earnest appeal and congratulation. "From the beginning of the present war," they said, "the Consistory and people of Kingston have uniformly been attached to the cause of America, and justify, upon the soundest principles of religion and morality, the glorious revolution of a free and oppressed

² The law has since been so amended.—*Ed.*

country. Take, then, with the acclamation and fullest confidence of the public—take, sir, the Government into your hands, and let the unsolicited voice of the whole State prevail upon you to enter upon this arduous task. The Consistory esteem themselves especially happy in having cause to believe that religious liberty, without which all other privileges are not worth enjoying, will be strenuously supported by your Excellency.”

He yielded his own judgment to the universal anxiety, and the 30th of July, 1777, was fixed for the inauguration. And so, one hundred years ago to-day, upon this spot, the Council of Safety surrendered its powers, General George Clinton was inaugurated Governor, and the State of New York, under a constitution and duly organized government, began its history. He came from the very presence of the enemy to assume the robes of office, to return to his post when the ceremony was over; and the proclamation which made him Governor, General and Commander of the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the State, was the first state paper bearing the startling attest “God save the People.” Forts Clinton and Montgomery were attacked in the Highlands, Herkimer was battling in the Valley of the Mohawk, Burgoyne was marching from the north, and it was months before he could summon from the field and gather in council the first Legislature.

New York had but two hundred thousand people; was without manufactories or internal improvements; and was hemmed in and invaded on every side by hostile fleets and armies. One hundred years have passed, and to-day in the sisterhood of States, she is the Empire in all that constitutes a great commonwealth. An industrious, intelligent, and prosperous population of five millions of people live within her borders. In the value of her farms and farm products, and in her manufacturing industries, she is the first State in the Union. She sustains over one thousand newspapers and periodicals, has eighty millions invested in church property, and spends twelve millions of dollars a year upon popular education. Upward of three hundred academies and colleges fit her youth for special professions and furnish opportunities for liberal learning and the highest culture, and stately edifices all over the State, dedicated to humane and benevolent objects, exhibit the permanence and extent of her organized charities. There are three hundred millions of dollars in her

savings banks, three hundred millions in her insurance companies, and five hundred millions in the capital and loans of her State and National Banks. Six thousand miles of railroads, costing six hundred millions of dollars, have penetrated and developed every accessible corner of the State, and maintain against all rivalry and competition her commercial prestige.

In 1825 a cannon was fired upon the Battery in New York City, in response to the reverberations of the guns from Sandy Hook; its echoes were caught and repeated by another shot at the Palisades; and so from Tappan Zee to the Highlands, along the Catskills and the valley of the Mohawk, and past the falls of the Genesee till lost over the lake at Buffalo, the thunders of artillery announced, in one hour and twenty minutes, the whole length of the State, that the waters of the lake had been wedded to the ocean, and the Erie Canal was completed. It marked a new era in the prosperity of the State and the history of the Nation. It sent the tide of emigration to the Northwest, developing there great agricultural States, and added immensely to the wealth of New York. All honor and gratitude to the men who at that early day had the courage and foresight to plan and pursue these great public improvements, and whose wisdom has been proven by a repetition of the lessons of the ages, that along the highways of commerce reside population, wealth, civilization, and power. The glory of each State is the common property of the Nation, and we make this day our centennial exhibit. Our inquiry has shown that we need not step beyond our own boundaries to find illustrious annals and noble examples. We are rich in battle-fields, decisive in results upon the freedom of the Nation.

Jay, Morris, and Livingston, Schuyler and Montgomery, Clinton and Herkimer, Hamilton and Kent, are names which will live among the soldiers, patriots, and sages of all time. In every crisis of its history, the virtue, courage, and wisdom of the people have been equal to the needs of the present and the wants of the future.

Let us welcome the second century and enter upon its duties with the stern purpose and high resolve to maintain the standard of our fathers in the public and private life of the State, and the honorable superiority of New York in the Federal Union.

CENTENNIAL OF CAPITAL AT ALBANY

ADDRESS AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE CAPITAL AT ALBANY, JANU-
ARY 6, 1897.

ONE summer morning at Athens I stood upon the Acropolis. Before me were the temples of her religion, the seats of her famed Court of Justice, and the field where her popular Assembly deliberated and enacted laws. Memory swiftly reviewed the inspiring past. Names which have survived the centuries and made immortal Grecian art, letters, eloquence, and arms were materialized by the imagination. Then again I was in the Forum at Rome. Around me once more were the rehabilitated ruins and the reincarnated heroes, statesmen, and orators of the Augustan Age. From the rostrum on which Cicero, by his appeals to the populace, had delayed the destruction of the Republic, and Marc Antony, by his eulogium over the dead body of Cæsar, had changed the course of empire and the history of the world, I saw before me the Senate House, from which issued the decrees that conquered kingdoms, devastated provinces, slaughtered millions of human beings, and concentrated in the Eternal City the government of the world. It at once became an acute speculation whether it is religion with its creeds and dogmas, or literature, or art, or material development, or military achievement, or government, which most interests and absorbs the attention of mankind.

"The noblest study of mankind is man" and how he is governed or governs himself. Upon the institution adopted by the nations depend all the other elements which I have recited. It is the government of the people that determines the measure of their civilization, the expansion of their liberties, the genius of their art, the liberality of their letters, and the toleration of their religion. Power captures both reason and imagination, whether it is concentrated in an autocrat or distributed among oligarchies or aristocracies, or finds its seat among the people. It is the life of national existence. The story of its development, its use and its abuse, is the history of the past. We contemplate it to-day, not in its tragedies enacted by conquerors and armies, not in

sacked cities and devastated provinces, not in subdued and humiliated nations, but in the wise, peaceful, and beneficent development of government for the people and by the people.

We can not look back over an eventful past, like that suggested by the dead republics of ancient times or the living governments of the older countries of Europe. The span of one hundred years is but a day of history. That day, like one of the decisive battles which has changed the course of empire, may be more fruitful and suggestive than a thousand years of Cathay.

Each of the thirteen colonies has pride and applause, because of the contributions it has made to the formation of the Republic of the United States. We can not dispute nor detract from the just merits of any of our sister States, but this is our hour, our privilege, our time to place New York in her entitled imperial position at the beginning of the century, a position she still holds at its close. New York is the only one of the colonies which could have successfully sustained a separate and independent existence. Nature has made her the seat of empire. The possibilities of power are both in the topography of a country and the characteristics of its inhabitants. The Hudson river, running in its majestic course as a highway for commerce from the Atlantic to the Mohawk, presented the easy and natural route for settlement and trade. From the headwaters of the Mohawk the streams run northward to Lake Ontario, and the valley extends west to Lake Erie. With short and easy portages the Indian, with his birch-bark canoe, could have gone from New York to the Pacific Coast. The canoe is succeeded by the laboring oar, the oar by the canal boat and the horse, the canal boat by the steam engine, and then, in the development of transportation, the iron rail finds its easy grades beside the water courses and follows their banks. Thus our State, from the beginning, has held the key to the settlement of the continent and the gates for the inflow of population and importation and for the carriage to market and export of the product of the great majority of the acres of our vast national territory.

One of the picturesque episodes, lost almost in the byways of history, is found in the brief annals we possess of the federation of the Iroquois. By their location in the valley of the Mohawk, they demonstrated in their rude and savage way that the course of empire lies along the natural highways of commerce and trade.

Though having only five thousand warriors, they exacted tribute from subject tribes throughout New England as far north as Maine, to the west as far as the Mississippi, and south to the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. Their enemies were divided by mountain ranges and other natural barriers, which prevented union for common defence, while these rude soldiers of the forest could concentrate down the valleys and streams for the swift punishment of revolt or collection of tribute. These sagacious savages knew nothing of the secret of Roman conquest, but they adopted its tactics in war and its policy in peace. They incorporated the subject tribes and used them to extend the area of their influence. An early chronicler says that the appearance of a single Mohawk among the Indians of Massachusetts would put a tribe to flight. The decision, followed by instant execution, which is the secret of successful force, was illustrated when a Long Island tribe ceded a portion of its lands to the whites without the consent of the Six Nations. The tribal congress at Onondaga determined to stop at once any such encouragement to white encroachments upon Indian territory. A single Mohawk warrior carried the message. He appeared at the village of the Long Island tribe, called together its chiefs, and demanded by whose authority this deed was given. The head of the tribe arose and said it had been done by him. The messenger of power and vengeance at once buried his tomahawk in the brain of the chief, attached his scalp to his girdle, and walked out of the terrified and submissive assembly.

New York, thus fortunate in her geographical position, was doubly fortunate in the character of the immigration which she attracted. She became the cosmopolitan State of the Union. The Dutch came and took possession of the territory and administered its government. They gave to its constitution and laws the spirit of civil and religious liberty which existed in that age only in Holland. They invited all nationalities and all creeds to equal rights with themselves. Persecuted religionists of every church soon discovered that they could find a hospitable home among the Dutch of New York. The Waldenses settled upon Staten Island, the Walloons and the English upon Long Island; the Catholic Scotch Highlanders, who had followed the fortunes of Prince Charlie, established their colony in Montgomery County, while the Protestant Irish took up farms in Otsego and the

Catholic French along the borders of Canada; the Welsh formed settlements in Oneida, the Huguenots established prosperous communities in Westchester and along the Hudson, and the Germans from the Palatinate gave character and stability to the farms and villages on the Mohawk. Hamilton, the constructive genius of the Republic, was Scotch, as was also Livingston. Schuyler, the modest but able general who planned the battle of Saratoga, was Dutch; Herkimer, whose brave fight at Oriskany was one of the most eventful battles of the Revolution, was German. The accomplished and cultured jurist and patriot, Jay, was a French Huguenot. The sturdy and tough old Governor Clinton, who ruled our State for twenty-one years, was Irish; while Morris was Welsh, and Hoffman of Swedish descent.

With patriotic ardor and brilliant effort in eloquence, in story and in song, the descendants of the Puritans have celebrated the virtues of their forefathers and made us familiar with the minutest details of the lives and deeds of these early State builders. Bunker Hill and Concord and Lexington are the inspiration of the schoolbooks, while Saratoga, the decisive battle of the Revolutionary War, and Oriskany, are second in importance, and White Plains, Stony Point, West Point, and Crown Point, are little known, except to the students of the Revolution. The genius of the father of American literature painted a word-picture of the ridiculous side of the founders of New Amsterdam, which has detracted in the mind and imagination of subsequent generations, from the merits of these builders of our State and its institutions, and placed them at incalculable disadvantage beside the idealized Pilgrim. One might as well judge Wellington and Waterloo, Marlborough and Blenheim, Nelson and the *Victory*, and Chatham and Burke, by the satirical cartoons of *Punch*, as to form an opinion of the Dutch of New York by "Knickerbocker's History."

The people of Holland had carried on an unexampled struggle for eighty years for independence against the great power of Spain. They had demonstrated, in an age of tyranny and bigotry, the liberalizing force and resistless power of commerce and industry. The merchants, the manufacturers, and the artisans of their cities had accumulated wealth, broken the power of their feudal lords and cultivated art, literature, and liberty; they had celebrated their victories, not by monuments, but by univer-

sities; they had kept alive the spark of liberty and of learning when it was dead everywhere else; they had formed a federal union in 1579, which was the model for the confederation of the American colonies, and in 1580 they had formulated a declaration of independence, which was one of the inspirations of the pen of Jefferson. They received with cordiality, and entertained with hospitality, Protestants and Catholics, and the persecuted Jews. They had taught the Puritan the lessons of civil and religious liberty, and the benefits of the common schools. It is the most interesting illustration of the value of the lesson of the eleven years which the Puritans passed in Holland that the Pilgrims, who sailed from Delfthaven to Plymouth and framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* that immortal charter which is the foundation-stone of our Republic, preached and practised both civil and religious liberty. It was the Puritans who came afterward direct from England who, against the protests of the Plymouth colony, persecuted Quakers and Baptists and hanged witches. Said the Holland Directors to the Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam, in directing him to grant home and hospitality to the persecuted religionists and those accused of witchcraft who had fled from New England, "Let every one remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of our magistrates in Amsterdam, and the consequence has been that people have flocked from every land to this asylum. Tread, then, in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." The Dutch maxims of government were, "Unity makes right," and "Taxation is only lawful by consent of the people." These principles of our Dutch founders bore abundant fruit in the influence of New York upon the political and constitutional history of the Republic, in the influence of New York upon the building and expanding of the common school and the universal adoption of the principle of religious toleration.

The commingling of races in our commonwealth is one of the sources of its imperial position. It has abolished narrowness and provincialism and created broadness and liberality of character. It has done more than anything else to develop the American type of manhood. The true American is cosmopolitan. He breathes the air of a continent ruled by the flag of his country;

he lives under institutions which give the largest liberty and the greatest opportunity for individual effort. He is in touch with the most marvelous material development of any age or any country, and is carried upon the car of progress at a speed which fires the brain, makes sentient the nerves, and gives new impulse to the blood. He cannot help being patriotic and proud, but the sources of his patriotism are so sure and the reasons for his pride so sound that he can be liberal, and just and charitable to all nations, races, and tongues. His sympathy is quick and outspoken for people under other forms of government who are seeking equality before the law and struggling for civil or religious liberty. He will give moral support to and assist to the limit of personal safety those who are in rebellion against tyranny and oppression. Antiquity has for him precious lessons, and he studies with deep appreciation, pleasure, and admiration the art and literature, the architecture and monuments, the heroes and historic fields of the Old World. But the superiority of other lands in some feature of civilization only intensifies his love for his own country. As his vision broadens he sees more clearly that we are "The heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time," in the larger share of freedom and happiness enjoyed by the people of the United States.

Our State was pre-eminently the battleground of the Revolution. Here in Albany was assembled in 1754, twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence, a convention presided over by Benjamin Franklin, to promote the union of the colonies for mutual improvement and self-defence. In 1764 the Colonial Assembly of New York addressed the other colonies, urging common action against the encroachments of the mother country. It was the beginning of official agitation for an American union and the promotion of purely American interests, and it preceded by a year Patrick Henry's famous resolution and immortal speech in the Virginia House of Delegates. John Morin Scott, in May, 1765, voiced the sentiment of the New York Assembly and the popular feeling of the colony with his bold assertion, which was the first intimation of the separation of the colonies from the mother country and their independence as a nation. He said: "The English government cannot long act towards a part of its dominions upon principles which are diametrically opposed to its own without losing itself in the slavery it would impose upon

the colonies or teaching them to throw it off and assert their freedom." In that speech is the prophecy of nationality and the germ of the Declaration of Independence. Both Washington on the one side, and the British generals on the other, saw that New York was the key to the revolutionary situation. The great campaign of the British Cabinet, planned with so much skill and strategical genius, would, if it had been successful, have discouraged France and crushed colonial independence. Through the valleys of New York, at once the highways of peaceful and military conquest, the English general was to march his armies, seize and hold these arteries, and divide and conquer the patriots. Sir Henry Clinton was to come up the Hudson, and Burgoyne, with his English and German veterans, was to move down through Lake Champlain, while St. Leger came along the valley of the Mohawk. But the battle of Saratoga and the sanguinary struggle at Oriskany broke the power of Great Britain upon this continent, won the alliance with France, secured the independence of the colonies, and created the Republic of the United States.

The seat of government in our State during the period of Dutch and English control was in New Amsterdam, now New York city. The executive and legislative power was vested in a director-general appointed from Holland and a council elected by the people. After the English conquest this was changed to a royal governor appointed by the King of Great Britain, and an elective assembly. When the revolt against the tyrannical exactions of the mother country assumed organized form, the Committee of Safety, provisional war committees, and committees of resistance called a Provisional Congress, to be elected by the various counties. This Congress, in May, 1776, provided for the election of delegates to a convention "to accept and establish such a government as they shall deem best calculated to secure the life, liberty, and happiness of the good people of this colony." Our first Constitution was framed and adopted by this body at Kingston, on April 20, 1777, and the legislative life of the State of New York began. The Constitution created a Senate and Assembly, and enacted that the Legislature must meet once a year, but failed to name any place. At its first session the Legislature, in 1778, passed an act to regulate elections within the State, and providing that the Senate and Assembly should meet

on the first Monday in July in each year at such place or places as the Governor, by proclamation, should appoint, reserving to the Legislature the right to adjourn to any place it chose. These provisions were necessary, because our State was a continuous battleground during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and the Legislature, of necessity, deliberated in light marching order, and was in constant peril of capture by the enemy. It met at Kingston and Poughkeepsie in 1777; at Poughkeepsie in 1778; at Albany, Kingston, and Poughkeepsie in 1779; at the same places in 1780; at Albany and Poughkeepsie in 1781; at Poughkeepsie in 1782; at Kingston also in 1782, and in 1783, 1784, 1785, and 1786; at New York in 1787; at Poughkeepsie in 1788; at Albany in 1789. It met alternately afterwards at New York and Albany, and in 1797, just one hundred years ago, found its permanent home in this city. Its sessions in this city had no other authority, until 1818, than the annual motion "That when the Legislature adjourns it shall be to meet at Albany." In 1818 an act was passed changing the date for the assembling of the Legislature to the first Tuesday in January, and providing that its future meetings should be held in "the Capitol in the city of Albany." The first building stood where Agricultural Hall now is, and was used jointly by the city and State. The next structure, the old "Capitol," so freighted with glorious memories, was completed and occupied in 1809. It was built by the State and the city, the latter being authorized to raise its money by a lottery. The whole scheme was imbedded in laws under the liberal titles permitted by our earlier constitutions of "Acts to improve the navigation of the Hudson river between the villages of Troy and Waterford, and for the encouragement of literature." The building was finished in three years, at a cost of \$110,685.42. Professor Silliman, of Yale College, spoke of this building in 1813 as "a large, handsome building exhibiting a good degree of splendor." Horatio Gates Spofford said, in 1823, that "in the furniture of the Senate and Assembly Chambers there is a liberal display of public munificence, and the American eagle assumes an imperial splendor." Such were the impressions made on these cultured and keen observers seventy-three years ago by that plain and poorly equipped old house. It marks the growth of taste and luxury that no more could be said of the palatial magnificence and gorgeous appointments of the present Capitol. Its corner-

stone was laid in 1871, with imposing ceremonies, and the Legislature moved in on January 7, 1879. This largest and grandest of state capitols, and one of the greatest structures of its kind in the world, has cost, up to 1896, \$21,607,116.58, and it will require several more millions for its completion.

Commerce stimulates invention and compels the enlargement of the facilities for and the cheapening of transportation. The carrier is both the creator and the distributor of national and individual wealth. Mountain ranges have shut off the limitless, fertile, and attractive territories of the West from the Atlantic seaboard, except where nature has made a natural highway through the lakes to Buffalo and down the valleys to the Hudson, and through the lakes again down to Oswego and down the streams to the Hudson. The brilliant Gouverneur Morris had seen the ease with which Lakes Erie and Ontario could be connected with the Atlantic, through the natural channels. Other statesmen of New York had impressed the work upon the State Legislature and upon Congress, but it was reserved for the practical ability, the popularity, and the indomitable energy of Governor DeWitt Clinton to carry through the projects of the Erie, the Oswego, and the Champlain canals. The wedding of the waters of Lake Erie with the waters of the Bay of New York created that system of northwestern commonwealths in which now reside the political power and the future growth of our Republic. Navigation carried population along the lakes, the canals, and the rivers, and prosperous settlements existed wherever the product of the soil could be carried cheaply to market. The discovery that every mile of railroad constructed in new territory opens to cultivation and for homes one hundred thousand acres of virgin soil, caused to be built that system of railways which now numbers in miles quite one-half of the total mileage of all the railways in the world, and the vast internal commerce which it carries far surpasses the combined traffic of the railways of other countries and of the merchant vessels on the ocean. It was the prospect of a peaceful settlement and development of the vast interior of our country which caused Livingston and Fulton to build the first steamboat upon the Hudson, which encouraged capital and enterprise to construct the first practical railway between Albany and Schenectady, which stimulated Henry and Morse to subdue the lightning to the serv-

ice of man in the electric telegraph, which fired the brain of Bell for the speaking telephone, and incited the myriad-minded Edison to the utilization of electric power for light, for machinery, and for motors.

Inventions are both revolutions and revelations. For the thousands who are ruined by the revolution produced by invention, millions find new opportunities, employment, and wealth in the revelation and utilization of hidden forces and powers. It is because ours is the first of commercial states that so many of these beneficent discoveries which have enabled one man to do the work of a thousand and yet perform the paradox of creating more remunerative occupations for the other nine hundred and ninety-nine, have found their suggestion and practical operation within the State of New York.

The complex and intricate relations of a great commercial and manufacturing center have raised the most important legal questions; they have attracted and educated for our State the most brilliant bar; they have taught us to frame and perfect constitutions which have served as models for other commonwealths, and have enacted a body of broad and liberal statutes. Our Constitution has been adopted by a majority of the new States, and our codifications by a majority of all States. The leaders of our bar have also been the leaders of the national bar. In our time no one disputed the supremacy of Evarts and O'Connor, and they filled the places which had been held by equally famed and distinguished predecessors. The commentaries of Chancellor Kent educated generations of lawyers and jurists before law schools were known,¹ and are the text-books to-day which lay the foundation for our system of legal teaching.

At a time when the maxim, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," made impossible the freedom of the press, Hamilton's superb defence of journalistic liberty in the reversal of the maxim and the establishment of the principle that the truth justifies publication, became the decision of the courts of New York. It was incorporated into the statutes; it has found, after many years of struggle, a place in the legislation of all the States in our Union and of Great Britain. It has built up that tremendous power of an independent press which is to-day the ruling force in our Republic.

¹Excepting the Litchfield (Conn.) Law School, founded by Tapping Reeve in 1784.—*Ed.*

It is common to lament the good old times and the better days of the Republic. The result of my study, experience, and observation is that the best day is to-day, and to-morrow will be a better. Until 1848 a woman's estate became her husband's after marriage. She could not enter business except with his assent and assistance. Again the liberal genius of commerce demonstrated that it was the handmaid of civilization, by emancipating woman and giving her her just rights in the management of her property, and her equal privileges in the opportunities of the times for livelihood, independence, and fortune. We all rejoice to-day in this enlightened movement and that the example of our State has been followed by all the other commonwealths, and in some countries abroad. Sixty years ago the Legislature was constantly passing laws authorizing lotteries to endow colleges, academies, and other seats of learning, for public works, for religious and charitable purposes, and even for the construction of the building which was to be the home of the law-making power of the commonwealth. Now this most insidious form of gambling and demoralization is not only condemned by public opinion, but its practice is included in the prohibitions of the Penal Code. It took nearly half a century of education and of agitation to wipe from the statute books the inequalities placed by the fathers upon the right of suffrage. Until the Constitution of 1846 the chartering of corporations was regarded as the legitimate spoils of politicians and of parties. It brought no discredit upon the legislator to receive the free gift of stock in the company which he endowed by his vote with unusual and monopolistic powers. But to-day no legislator could thus, nor in any other way, participate in the benefits of his vote without standing in the criminal dock and ending in the State prison. Our statesmen discovered that while the vast and complicated machinery of transportation, banking, insurance, and many other kinds of business could only be carried on by capital contributed by many individuals, the way to remove temptation and corruption from the Legislature and control the corporations was to enact general laws under which the whole body of citizens had the same right and opportunities to organize for the purposes permitted by law, and when organized, should fall under the supervision and power of the State, through one of its departments and officers. Supervision and publicity are the great safeguards of the Republic against any abuses which may

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come from these modern devices of civilization, the corporation and the trust. Our State took up early the subject of education and treated it in a broad and liberal way, through the Regents of the University, an original body which has survived a century of beneficent work. They fostered and encouraged colleges, academies, and higher education, while a Department of Public Instruction developed the common school to its present vast and unequalled proportion. The result has been that education is free to every boy and girl in our State, and the opportunities for liberal learning are practically within the reach of all.

It is an interesting illustration of the fact that New York was always the cosmopolitan State of the Union, that the theater, which first feels the restrictive influences of provincialism, reopened in our chief city as soon as the civil authority assumed power, after the evacuation by the British. While pains and penalties prohibited playhouses in New England, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and other States, there was presented, in 1786, in New York, among other plays, a comedy written by Royal Taylor, afterwards Chief Justice of the State of Vermont, in which appeared for the first time the typical stage Yankee.

Two questions of supreme importance, and testing the existence of the Republic, were the power of the national government to protect and maintain the Union of the States, and the treatment of the institution of slavery. New York was, practically, a century ago, as now, the port of entry of the country. Most of the revenues were collected within her jurisdiction. The majority of her statesmen, led by Governor Clinton, believed that in joining the Federal Union, and surrendering to the national government all of the imperial powers of peace and war, of taxation and revenue, she was contributing more than her share and abandoning a position destined to make her the leader, the arbiter, and the master among confederated commonwealths. The vital question of national unity and state sovereignty was fought out here and by our statesmen. In this city most of the papers of the *Federalist*, that Bible of union and liberty, were written by Alexander Hamilton, and in New York by John Jay, these two contributing three-fourths of the numbers. Hamilton and Clinton, in the convention called to ratify the Constitution of the United States, led the opposing forces. Hamilton was the most precocious and remarkable genius and the most creative statesman

of his age. He had a comprehension of liberty, a talent for building institutions, a genius for government, and a lucidity of statement which won the admiration of his countrymen by speech and pamphlet when he was but eighteen years old. Clinton was dogmatic, obstinate, and courageous. He loved New York with a passionate devotion; he had been its governor during the struggle for independence and the best period of his life, and he saw only New York. Hamilton's vision embraced the whole United States, and with prophetic insight he discerned the power and greatness of the Republic of the future. When the contest began he and Jay stood almost alone in the Constitutional Convention. Never before were so clearly demonstrated the power of debate and the supreme force of that eloquence which commands listening senates. When the debate ended Hamilton triumphed, and by an overwhelming majority New York surrendered her temporary advantages and became a member of the Federal Union, the Empire State in a confederation of commonwealths having an indestructible nationality. The arguments and ammunition furnished in the *Federalist* and in this debate served their purpose during the sixty-years battle between the opposing forces of federal power and independent state action, of union and secession, until the flag of the Republic conferred its equal blessings and commanded loyalty and love from both victors and vanquished upon the field of Appomattox.

Freedom and slavery existed peacefully together for a quarter of a century. Then for more than another quarter they contested for the possession of the new territory and the dominant power in the government of the country. Abolitionists and Free Soilers had conducted the agitation for freedom with little result. Abraham Lincoln had sounded the keynote of the conflict in 1856, but it was only a local utterance in a Western State. William H. Seward, Senator from New York, was the father of the new party of liberty. He was the most hated and the most feared of all the enemies of the slave power. He was the leader of the new movement, its candidate for President. The apparently impassible barriers to the Free State men were the guarantees of slavery in the Constitution of the United States. In the fall of 1858, when the country was agitated by this question as never before, Senator Seward made a speech at Rochester. In it he said: "Our country exhibits in full operation two radically differ-

ent political systems—the one resting on a basis of servile or slave labor, the other on a basis of voluntary labor of freemen. These antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact and collision results. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation.” The “irrepressible conflict,” flashed over the country and read by the people the next morning, brought every friend of freedom to his feet with a shout of approval, and every slaveholder and friend of slaveholding with a yell of defiance. Though Seward, on account of local causes in his own State, failed to reach the Presidency, nevertheless the “irrepressible conflict” which fell from his lips on that eventful night in Rochester bore fruit five years later in Lincoln’s immortal Proclamation of Emancipation.

There always exists in commercial communities a shifting element of independent voters who are bound lightly by party ties. This has caused New York, more than any other State, to change its allegiance so frequently between the two great national organizations. It has given intensity to our partisanship and a ferocity to our factions within the parties unknown in other commonwealths. The power of the State in the Electoral College and the vast amount of federal and state patronage to be distributed within its jurisdiction have created political conditions peculiar to ourselves. Five Presidents of the United States have said to me that they could easily solve every question which came before them, but that they had never been able to understand the politics of New York. They have run in both parties, since the formation of the state government, very much upon the lines represented by Alexander Hamilton on the one side and Aaron Burr on the other—theoretical and practical politics. Martin Van Buren consolidated the power of his party in the Albany Regency, with Edwin Croswell as its editor, and Thurlow Weed organized the forces on the other side, with William H. Seward as the spokesman. With matchless courage and ability the Albany Regency governed the State and sometimes controlled the country. It fell because it would not, and apparently could not, share its power with the rising ambitions of its party. Thurlow Weed, on the other hand, appealed to ingenuous, patriotic, and ambitious young men to join him in the fight for the control of the

State, and attracted and captured them as they successively came into prominence. For thirty years he was rather the presiding officer of a congress of politicians than the directing mind of a political organization. Seward's philosophic temperament, ripe culture, brilliant eloquence, and comprehensive statesmanship gave inspiration to the young warriors who were following Thurlow Weed in the field of practical politics, and won the support of pulpits and colleges for his political organization. With increasing years Weed became suspicious of youth and attached to the associations of a lifetime, and the young revolvers against the State machine, led by Roscoe Conkling, broke his power.

Reuben E. Fenton, as Governor, by his political sagacity and the State patronage, gathered the fragments of the Weed organization and became master of the Republican Party. General Grant transferred to Senator Conkling the appointments to office, and Fenton made the mistake of fighting for the maintenance of his power outside the party lines. Conkling, with an undisputed field and his great ability, created a machine which, for cohesive, concentrated, and autocratic authority, never had an equal anywhere in our country. All the aspirations and ambitions of New York submitted for twelve years to an arbitrary rule, which, by nod or word or caprice, promoted or excommunicated, recognized or drove into obscurity, rising statesmen and local leaders or lieutenants, as they were obedient or distrusted. When General Arthur, who had been one of Senator Conkling's chief aids, became President, he declared his independence and the sudden dissolution and collapse of this strongest and most aggressive combination of power within a party in our history is one of the lessons and romances of American politics. Conkling retired absolutely from public life, and fulfilled at the Bar the brilliant promise of the earlier years of his professional career.

Any permanent concentration of power in one or a few hands within the Democratic Party has been often prevented by the persistent efforts of the organization in the city of New York to dominate the rest of the State. Dean Richmond, by his talent for leadership and bluff good-fellowship, held warring factions together for many years. But he was frequently defeated and always weakened by the magnetic personality, the lofty eloquence, and unequaled individual popularity of Horatio Seymour. I remember the appearance of this highbred, aristocratic-looking,

and faultlessly dressed man upon the platform at Albany, the wild worship he inspired in the fierce Democracy before him, and his stampeding of Richmond's carefully-selected convention, as one of the most thrilling of my recollections of the power of eloquence.

The sudden accession to commanding position in the State and Country of Samuel J. Tilden, late in his life, is an absorbing and interesting chapter of American history. At three score he discovered his opportunity in the Tweed frauds, and rallied to his standard a remarkable body of brilliant young men, most of whom have won great distinction since in both public and business life. He disrupted Tammany at the zenith of its strength, scattered all existing combinations, captured the governorship and the State, and won so good a claim upon the Presidency as to create a crisis which, equally with the Civil War, strained, tested and proved the strength, elasticity, and perpetuity of our Republic.

The Legislature of our State has been the nursery of its statesmen. Most of the long list of men who became eminent in the councils of the nation rose to prominence in the Senate or Assembly. I cannot allude to the living, but in recalling those who have joined the majority, we can congratulate ourselves upon the position we have held in the national councils and the imperial influence of our State through its representatives. No other commonwealth can present so many names of equal power. The inspiring roll-call contains the names of Philip Schuyler, Rufus King, Aaron Burr, Gouverneur Morris, DeWitt Clinton, Martin Van Buren, William L. Marcy, Silas Wright, Daniel S. Dickinson, John A. Dix, William H. Seward, and Roscoe Conkling. Of the twenty-three Presidents of the United States, New York has furnished four. She has also given ten Vice-presidents. New York cannot rest with being empire in most things; she must also be original. Two of her United States Senators resigned their places in that august body upon the apparent assumption that any prominent position in this State was more honorable than the best place in the Federal Government, DeWitt Clinton to become mayor of New York, and Theodorus Bailey to accept the postmastership of our city.

It is our misfortune that, since the Civil War, the attractions and the rewards of the professions and of business in a great com-

mercial state, and the uncertainties of politics as a career, have kept from public life or tempted from it, as soon as they became prominent, the great majority of the able men who have successively come upon the stage and taken a leading part in the industrial and professional activities of our State.

To one familiar for more than a quarter of a century with the men who have climbed the Capitol hill and spoken within the Capitol walls, this day is crowded with affecting and glorious memories. There is no chord in the lyre of eloquence which has not been touched by a master hand in the discussions of our legislative bodies upon questions affecting the welfare of the State or the good of the Country.

I have sat in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States; I have heard famous debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords; but when the trumpet call to arms for the salvation of the Union came from President Lincoln, and New York's Legislature convened that the State might meet the requirements of the hour and in the subsequent years of the trying struggle, I have listened to efforts in the Senate and Assembly of the old Capitol which took equal rank with the debates of Congress and the speeches in Parliament.

"As goes New York so goes the Union" has been verified in twenty-three cases out of twenty-seven of our presidential elections. From the little railroad of twenty-six miles, built in 1830, has grown a transportation system covering seven thousand miles, and carrying, with the canals, a greater tonnage per year than passes through any other State. From the first bank chartered have grown, within the recollection of men now living, banks whose capital and deposits amount to three thousand seven hundred millions of dollars, two thousand five hundred and fifty millions of which represent the deposits in our savings banks; while the money in trust companies amounts to three hundred and ninety-five millions, and in life insurance companies, to six hundred and ninety millions, insuring a million of people, whose policies represent three billions of dollars. In the value of farm lands and farm products, we lead all the States except Illinois, and in manufactures we are first among the American commonwealths, there being sixty-six thousand manufacturing establishments in our State, employing eight hundred and fifty thousand people, and producing annually one thousand seven hundred

millions of dollars' worth of goods, or nearly one-third the entire product of the United States.

From Union College, which began its life the year before the fixing of the capital at Albany, have been established, over our State, colleges and academies; and by the State a common-school system which educates every year one million three hundred thousand pupils, at an annual cost of nearly eighteen millions of dollars. One hundred years ago New York City had four newspapers, with a circulation of a few thousand, the Advertiser, with Noah Webster as editor, the Packet, and Greenfield's Journal, and the Price Current; Albany had three, Orange and Ulster two, Columbia, Dutchess, and Rensselaer each one; and there were only two west of Albany, the Herald at Otsego and the Gazette at Whitestown. In the span of a century, under the inspiration of the freedom of the press, secured first in our State by judicial decision and legislation, our daily papers number one hundred and eighty-three with a circulation of one million three hundred thousand, while our weekly papers number ten hundred and eighty with a circulation of about one million copies. When this capital was founded, New York was the fifth State in the Union. Now she is the first in population, in wealth, in her institutions of learning, in her annual expenditures for education, in the number of children in her schools, in manufacture, commerce, and trade, and second only in agriculture.

The Art Gallery and Memorial Hall of our State will have upon its walls historical pictures which will illustrate and condense the beginning, the advance, and the results of our national development and progress. The first canvas will exhibit Fulton's steamboat cleaving the waters of the Hudson with a speed and power which woke to new life the drowsy repose of the ages from the Palisades to the Helderbergs. From this little craft came the canal and railway expansion and the internal commerce of our country. The second picture will be a battle scene. The red-coated veterans of England, the helmeted grenadiers of Hesse, and the plumed and painted savages on the one side, and the Continental soldier and patriot farmer, with corn-shuck in his hat as his uniform, on the other, will represent the fury and the victory of Saratoga, the most important in results of any of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. Two companion pieces will be the British evacuating New York as the American

Army enters, and Washington bidding a final farewell to his generals at Fraunce's Tavern, in the same city—the one a recognition of an independent power in the affairs of the Old World, and destined to rule, protect, or influence the countries of the New World; the other, that subordination of the military to the civil authority which is the spirit of liberty and the life of a republic, and which had its second and grandest illustration when two millions of soldiers dropped their arms and returned to their several industries at the close of the Civil War. A conspicuous panel will display the imposing scene and brilliant surroundings at the inauguration of the first President of the United States at old Federal Hall, in Wall street, marking the commencement of a government on this continent which should demonstrate the growing power and limitless possibilities of freedom, which should extend its hospitality to all races and creeds, and whose teaching and example should liberalize the institutions and inspire the peoples of all the nations on the earth. The first cheap, plain, and simple home occupied by our Legislature in this city one hundred years ago, to-day, will contrast the past with the present, beside that most palatial State building in our country, the present State Capitol.

The Legislature which first met here dealt with the affairs of three hundred thousand people, but you, gentlemen, their successors, after the lapse of a hundred years, sit in the grand halls of this impressive structure and legislate for a commonwealth of seven millions of inhabitants. You will do more. You will prepare the charter which is to govern the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere, and the second greatest city in the world. It is a question whose magnitude will attract, and whose problems will interest the public mind, not only in our land, but in every nation where the municipal situation is as yet unsolved. Never since the formation of our State government has a more interesting or important measure of constructive legislation occupied the attention and commanded the best patriotism and ability of the representatives of the people. It is the gigantic task of providing for the safety, the rights, and the future development of a compact community greater in numbers than the population of the whole country a century ago; a municipality destined to have a constantly increasing influence upon the political, social, material, and literary interest of the State and the Nation.

Taking courage, hope, and inspiration from the superb results of our first century, we enter upon the second, confident that under Divine Providence, which has so signally blessed us in the past, the people of this State will prosper and increase in patriotism, in public spirit, in learning and art, in progress and wealth, in the preservation and expansion of the opportunities for all to rise to better conditions and to a broader life and in the fuller enjoyment of the continuing and ever-expanding blessings of civil and religious liberty.

MEMORIAL OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD BY THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC, AT CHICKERING HALL, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 26, 1881.

MY FRIENDS: We have met together many times in the long years past, on occasions serious and trifling, sad and joyful; for the hot discussion of politics, for the purpose of commemorating historical and patriotic events, and to strew with flowers and eulogiums the graves of our heroic dead; but never before have we assembled when we were only the units of universal and all-embracing grief. The world is in tears. The sun in its course has for the past two months greeted with its morning rays a never-ending succession of kneeling millions, supplicating the heavenly throne to spare the life of General Garfield; and during the last few days it has set upon them bowed in sorrow for his death. This intense interest has been limited by neither boundaries nor nationalities. It has belted the globe with mourning. Why has this calamity touched the chords of universal sympathy? Heroes and statesmen have died before, but never before have all civilized people felt the loss their own. The glory of the battlefield has mingled exultation with the soldier's agony. Statesmen have closed a long and distinguished career, but the loss has been relieved by the reflection that such is the common lot of all. Lincoln's murder was recognized as the expiring stroke of a dying cause. The assassination of him who was the savior of Holland and the hope of the liberty of his time was felt to be the fruit of implacable feud and religious strife; but the shot at Garfield was the most causeless, purposeless, and wicked crime of the century. No section, no party, no faction, desired his death. It had no accessories in public vengeance or private malice. The President was a strong, brave, pure man in the prime of his powers; the trusted Executive of fifty millions of people; the title to his office unquestioned, and the nation unanimous in the purpose that he should develop his policy and fulfill his mission. Such a life and career so ruthlessly broken arouses horror and sympathy.

But the love, reverence, and sadness of this hour is due to the fact that the man himself, in his strength and weakness, in his struggles and triumphs, in his friendships and enmities, in his relations to mother, wife, and children, and in his battle with death, was the best type of manhood. He was not one of those historic heroes, with the human element so far eliminated that, while we admire the character, we rejoice that it exists only in books and on canvas, but a man like ourselves, with like passions and feelings, but possessed of such greatness and goodness that the higher we estimated him the nearer and dearer he became to us. In America and Europe he is recognized as an illustrious example of the results of free institutions. His career shows what can be accomplished where all avenues are open and exertion is untrammelled. Our annals afford no such incentive to youth as does his life, and it will become one of the Republic's household stories. No boy in poverty almost hopeless, thirsting for knowledge, meets an obstacle which Garfield did not experience and overcome. No youth despairing in darkness feels a gloom which he did not dispel. No young man filled with honorable ambition can encounter a difficulty which he did not meet and surmount. For centuries to come great men will trace their rise from humble origin to the inspirations of that lad who learned to read by the light of a pine-knot in a log cabin; who, ragged and barefooted, trudged along the tow-path of the canal, and without ancestry behind to impel him forward, without money or affluent relations, without friends or assistance, by faith in himself and in God, became the most scholarly and best equipped statesman of his time, one of the foremost soldiers of his country, the best debater in the strongest of deliberative bodies, the leader of his party, and the chief magistrate of fifty millions of people before he was fifty years of age. We are not here to question the ways of Providence. Our prayers were not answered as we desired, though the volume and fervor of our importunity seemed resistless; but, already, behind the partially lifted veil we see the fruits of the sacrifice. Old wounds are healed and fierce feuds forgotten. Vengeance and passion, which have survived the best statesmanship of twenty years, are dispelled by a common sorrow. Love follows sympathy. Over this open grave the cypress and willow are indissolubly entwined, and in it are buried all sectional differences and hatreds. The North and South rise from

bended knees to embrace in the brotherhood of a common people and reunited country. Not this alone, for the humanity of the civilized world has been quickened and elevated, and the English-speaking people are nearer to-day in peace and unity than ever before. There is no language in which petitions have not arisen for Garfield's life, and no clime where tears have not fallen for his death. The Queen of the proudest of nations, for the first time in our recollection, brushes aside the formalities of diplomacy, and, descending from the throne, speaks for her own heart and the hearts of all her people in the cablegram to the afflicted wife which says: "Myself and my children mourn with you."

It was my privilege to talk for hours with General Garfield during his famous trip to the New York conference in the late canvass, and yet it was not conversation or discussion. He fastened upon me all the powers of inquisitiveness and acquisitiveness, and absorbed all I had learned in twenty years of the politics of this State. Under this restless and resistless craving for information, he drew upon all the resources of the libraries, gathered all the contents of the newspapers, and sought and sounded the opinions of all around him; and in his broad, clear mind the vast mass was so assimilated and tested that when he spoke or acted it was accepted as true and wise. And yet it was by the gush and warmth of old college-chum ways, and not by the arts of the inquisitor, that when he had gained, he never lost a friend. His strength was in ascertaining and expressing the average sense of his audience. I saw him at the Chicago Convention, and whenever that popular assemblage seemed drifting into hopeless confusion, his tall form commanded attention and his clear voice and clearer utterances instantly gave the accepted solution.

I arrived at his house at Mentor in the early morning following the disaster in Maine. While all about him were in a panic, he saw only a danger which must and could be repaired. "It is no use bemoaning the past," he said—"the past has no uses except for its lessons." Business disposed of, he threw aside all restraint, and for hours his speculations and theories upon philosophy, government, education, eloquence; his criticisms of books; his reminiscences of men and events, have made that one of the white-letter days of my life. At Chickamauga he won his major-general's commission. On the anniversary of the battle he died. I shall never forget his description of the fight—so modest, yet

graphic. It is imprinted on my memory as the most glorious battle-picture words ever painted. He thought the greatest calamity which could befall a man was to lose ambition. I said to him: "General, did you ever in your earlier struggle have that feeling I have so often met with, when you would have compromised your whole future for a certainty—and, if so, what?" "Yes," said he, "I remember well when I would have been willing to exchange all the possibilities of my life for the certainty of a position as a successful teacher." Though he died neither a school principal nor college professor—and they seem humble achievements compared with what he did—his memory will instruct while time endures.

His long and dreadful sickness lifted the roof from his house and family circle, and his relations as son, husband, and father stood revealed in the broadest sunlight of publicity. The picture endeared him wherever is understood the full significance of that matchless word, "home." When he stood by the Capitol, just pronounced the President of the greatest and most powerful of republics, the exultation of the hour found its expression in a kiss upon the lips of his mother. For weeks in distant Ohio she sat by the gate, watching for the hurrying feet of the messenger bearing the telegrams of hope or despair. His last conscious act was to write a letter of cheer and encouragement to that mother and when the blow fell she illustrated the spirit she had instilled in him. There were no rebellious murmurings against the Divine dispensation, only in utter agony: "I have no wish to live longer; I will join him soon; the Lord's will be done." When Dr. Bliss told him he had a bare chance of recovery: "Then," said he, "we will take that chance, doctor." When asked if he suffered pain, he answered: "If you can imagine a trip-hammer crashing on your body, or cramps, such as you have in the water, a thousand times intensified, you can have some idea of what I suffer." And yet during those eighty-one days was heard neither groan nor complaint. Always brave and cheerful, he answered the fear of the surgeons with the remark: "I have faced Death before, I am not afraid to meet him now"; and again: "I have strength enough left to meet him yet"; and he could whisper to the Secretary of the Treasury an inquiry about the success of the funding scheme, and ask the Postmaster-General how much public money he had saved.

His first thought when borne to the White House was not for himself, but for his wife sick at Elberon. He sent her an assuring message, bidding her come, received her with a cheerful and smiling welcome, and when she had left the room he said to the wife of a Cabinet Minister: "How does Crete bear it?" "Like the wife of a true soldier," was the reply. "Ah, the dear little woman!" he exclaimed; "I would rather die than that this should cause a relapse to her." Scanning with loving eyes her watchful and anxious face weeks afterward, he drew down her head and whispered: "Go out, dear, and drive before the sun gets too hot; I would go with you if I didn't have so much business to attend to; you will, I am sure, excuse me."

Forbidden to talk, he established with his lifelong friends and constant watchers, General Swaim and Colonel Rockwell, a system by which, in the knowledge gained by the intimacy of years, single words stood for ideas. Williams College Commencement, to which he was going when he was shot, was mentioned. The old familiar alumni assemblage became present to his mind, and what were they saying of him? "Tenderness?" he said to Rockwell. "Measureless," was the reply and he had gathered the spirit of that memorable meeting. In answer to an inquiry General Swaim said to me: "The most hopeful, courageous, and calm observer of the case is General Garfield himself. He has so completely eliminated his personality that he thinks and acts as if General Garfield had unusual and extraordinary opportunities to study the condition of the President of the United States, and an uncommon duty to preserve his life."

As he lay in the cottage by the sea, looking out upon the ocean, whose broad expanse was in harmony with his own grand nature, and heard the beating of the waves upon the shore, and felt the pulsations of millions of hearts against his chamber door, there was no posing for history and no preparation of last words for dramatic effect. With simple naturalness he gave the military salute to the sentinel gazing at his window, and that soldier, returning it in tears, will proudly carry its memory to his dying day, and transmit it to his children. The voice of his faithful wife came from her devotions in another room, singing: "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah." "Listen," he cries, "is not that glorious?" And in a few hours Heaven's portals opened, and upborne upon such prayers as never before wafted spirit above, he entered

the presence of God. It is the alleviation of all sorrow, public or private, that close upon it press the duties of and to the living.

The whole nation unites in smoothing the pathway of the revered and beloved mother, and caring for the noble wife and her children. But, as citizens, let us remove from our institutions the incentives to assassination. The President is of one school, the Vice-president of another. The President of the Senate, next in succession, is of one party, the Speaker of the House of the other. A million of needy or ambitious men besiege the President for the hundred thousand places in his gift. In a change is a perpetual opportunity to retrieve a failure, and murder forever lurks in this concentration and distribution of patronage. Let the President be the constitutional ruler of the Republic, and the civil service placed on a business basis. Let us render our cordial support to him who under these trying circumstances succeeds to this high office. "God reigns and the Government in Washington still lives," was the Christian soldier's shout with which General Garfield stopped the maddened mob when Lincoln was killed. Arthur is President. He needs the confidence and encouragement of the people, and will prove worthy of the trust which has devolved upon him. The tolling bells, the minute guns upon land and sea, the muffled drums and funeral hymns, fill the air while our chief is borne to his last resting-place. The busy world is stilled for the hour when loving hands are preparing the grave. A stately shaft will rise overlooking the lake and commemorating his deeds; but his fame will not live alone in marble or brass. His story will be treasured and kept warm in the hearts of millions for generations to come, and boys, hearing it from their mothers, will be fired with nobler ambitions. To his countrymen he will always be a typical American citizen, soldier, and statesman. A year ago, and not a thousand people of the Old World had ever heard his name; and now there is scarcely a thousand who do not mourn his loss. The peasant loves him because from the same humble lot he became one of the mighty of earth, and sovereigns respect him because in his royal gifts and kingly nature God made him their peer.

MEMORIAL OF PRESIDENT ARTHUR

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT ARTHUR BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, IN THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER AT ALBANY, APRIL 20, 1887.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: The twenty-first President of the United States was the third from the State of New York who had filled that high office. The administration and personal career of each of them form marked features of our national history. The conditions which prepared them for public duty were strikingly alike. Each was the sole architect of his own fortunes and without the aid of family or wealth. They were of the type of most of the men who have always controlled parties and managed the Government. Receiving in their youth the training and influence of Christian homes, starting in life with no other endowment than health, character, courage, and honorable ambition, they became leaders and rulers in their generations. The historian of the future will fill most of his pages devoted to our first century with the rise and fall of the slave power. In that story the parts of Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, and Chester A. Arthur will be of dramatic interest. The revolt of Van Buren in 1848 was the first organized effort for freedom which had strength or votes. It assailed slavery in its strongest intrenchment, its hold upon the old parties. In paving the way for their dissolution it opened the road for the union, upon this vital issue, of men hitherto arrayed against each other in hostile camps. With Van Buren as its leader, the anti-slavery sentiment crystalized into a powerful and aggressive organization. It broke up associations which had existed since the formation of the Government, alarmed and infuriated the adherents of slavery, and prepared the way for the inevitable conflict. Millard Fillmore sought to stay the storm by compromise; but when he signed the Fugitive Slave Law the storm became a cyclone. The enforcement of the law brought the horrors of slavery to every door; it aroused the old fire which had charged with Cromwell on the field and expounded liberty through Mans-

field on the bench; it united the North in a solemn determination to save the country and free the Constitution from the dangers and disgrace of the system; it consolidated the South for a struggle to the death for its preservation. The years following of agitation and preparation, the appeal to arms, the Civil War with its frightful sacrifices of blood and treasure, the triumph of nationality and liberty, the reconstruction of the States upon the broadest and most generous principles, the citizenship of the freedman, the reconciliation of the rebel, gave first to President Arthur the glorious opportunity and privilege of constructing a message which most significantly marked the happy end of a century of strife, by its failure to allude to its causes, remedies, or results. Thus the first of the New York Presidents gave to anti-slavery a national party; the second by an effort to compromise with evil brought on the battle which ended in its destruction; and the administration of the third saw the regenerated and reunited Republic rising upon its ruins.

A small cottage in a sparsely settled rural neighborhood of more than half a century ago, a scant salary, the unselfish sacrifices which a large family and narrow means necessitate—these were the physical surroundings which fitted Chester A. Arthur for his life's work. His father, a clergyman of vigorous intellect and ripe learning, his mother, a pious, cultured woman, gave to him by precept and example the character and courage which, both in resistance and action, win and worthily occupy the most commanding positions. All the marked successes among our people have resulted from the spur of necessity. It has not been the poverty which dwarfs and discourages, but the opportunity and incentive for larger fields of usefulness and for the gratification of higher ambitions. The narrow limits of his little home became each day an expanding horizon inviting the boy to exploration and conquest. From his father he inherited that sturdy Scotch-Irish blood, which for centuries has shown conspicuous aptitude for government and leadership, and he was early taught that, with a liberal education, backed by the principles in which he was grounded, all gates could be unbarred and all avenues were open to him. With these motives work was pleasure, and difficulties were delights, in the fresh strength and confidence with which they were successively overcome. The accepted hardships of teaching the country school and boarding around, the

distractions of earning a living while fighting for a degree, toughen and develop the elastic fibers of American character. When Arthur had won the maximum honors of his college, and was admitted to the bar on the completion of his law-studies, he was already a victor in the battle of life, and knew there were no dangers before him so great as those he had already overcome. The profession did not receive in him its frequent addition of a raw recruit whose steps have been so tenderly watched and taken for him that he stands with difficulty and moves with timidity, but he had tested his powers and felt the confidence of a veteran.

It was natural that with his origin and training General Arthur should at once have enrolled on the side of anti-slavery. It was fortunate for his future that the opportunity came early to participate in a legal contest which was one of the decisive battles of that long struggle. Jonathan Lemmon, a Virginia slaveholder, undertook to remove to Texas by way of New York, carrying his slaves with him. The Court was asked to discharge them on the ground that no man could be deprived of his liberty in this State without the authority of the law. Virginia, through her Governor and Legislature, took up the cause of the slave-holder, and the Legislature of our State responded by employing counsel for the slaves. The most eminent men at the bar appeared on the one side or the other. The whole nation became interested in the conflict, and mutterings of war were heard. Barriers were to be set to the encroachments of slavery or it was to be virtually established everywhere. Political passions, commercial timidity, moral convictions, swayed and agitated the press and the courts. Behind the States'-rights and vested-property arguments of the lawyers for Virginia were the threats of a dissolution of the Union which had so often frightened Northern constituencies, and cowed Northern statesmen; but the advocates of liberty, with unequalled boldness and ability, pressed home the eternal principles of freedom embodied in the charters of the Fatherland, and embedded in our American declarations and constitutions; and our highest tribunal reiterated, with phrase altered for us, Mansfield's immortal judgment, "A slave cannot breathe the air of England." The same decision had been eloquently and vigorously rendered by William H. Seward while Governor of our State years before, but it received little attention or approval. Then, as often afterward, this great statesman was nearly a generation in advance

of his contemporaries on the most important of questions. While this case settled the status of the slave brought within our jurisdiction, the rights of free colored people in our midst were violated daily. General Arthur championed the cause of a poor woman who, because of her race, was refused a seat and ejected from a car; and in the success of the litigation, principles which after the Civil War could receive recognition and obedience only by Congressional enactment and constitutional amendment became parts of the fixed jurisprudence of the State. He was never a brilliant advocate. He did not possess those rare qualities which win verdicts from unwilling juries and force decisions from hostile courts; but he early took and held the important place of wise and safe counsel and adviser. Tact, sense, and quick appreciation of the right were qualities he possessed in such high degree that they were the elements of his success, not only at the bar, but in the administration of public trusts.

This so impressed Governor Morgan that he assigned him to the most important position of recruiting and equipping New York's quota in the President's call for troops. The situation was of unparalleled novelty and danger. Generations of peace and prosperity had left the State with a holiday military system, and ignorant of war. The problems of camps, depots, supplies, armaments, transportation, which require a liberal education to solve, were suddenly precipitated upon men unprepared and untrained. To collect, feed, uniform, arm, and forward to the front tens of thousands of raw recruits required great ability and unimpeachable integrity. An army larger than the combined Continental forces of the Revolution was marching to Washington from New York by regiments as completely equipped as they were hastily gathered. The pressing needs of the Government on the one hand, and the greed of the contractor on the other, were spurs and perils of the organizing officer. It is one of the proudest records of General Arthur's life that he surrendered his position to a successor of hostile political faith, to receive from him the highest compliments for his work and to return to his profession a poorer man than when he assumed office.

Activity in public affairs and strong political bias were inevitable in a man of such experience and characteristics. The fate of the empire depended upon the issue of the tremendous questions which agitated the country during these years. Party

spirit ran high, and parties were organized and officered like contending armies. A great party must have leadership and discipline. Revolts become necessary at times against corrupt, incompetent, or selfish leadership, but constitutional government cannot be successfully conducted by political guerillas and bushwhackers. If the common judgment of mankind is the voice of God, the controlling sentiment of great parties is their best policies; but that sentiment must needs be voiced and receive expression in the practical measures of government by commanding authority. There have been in our history few party leaders of the first class who possessed those wonderful gifts which secure the confidence and sway the actions of vast masses of men; but there have been many who could combine and consolidate the organization for work in the field when the canvass was critical. Among these General Arthur held a high rank, and the length and vigor of his rule and the loyal devotion of his friends were lasting tributes to his merits. It was the natural result that the President should require him to hold a representative position. The Collectorship of the Port of New York was at that time the key to the political fortunes of the administration. The Collector was in a sense a cabinet officer, the dispenser of party patronage, and the business agent of the Government at the commercial capital of the nation. The peculiar difficulties of the place had permanently consigned to private life every man who ever held it. To make mistakes, to provoke calumny, to create enmities, were the peculiar opportunities of the office. That Arthur should have been unanimously confirmed for a second term and died ex-President of the United States are the best evidences of his integrity, wisdom, and tact.

A long lease of power creates not only a desire for change, but develops internal antagonisms. Both these dangers were very threatening in the campaign of 1880. The first was a present and increasing force, and success was impossible unless all discordant elements were harmonized. Garfield and Arthur, as the representatives of the hostile factions, were singularly fitted to accomplish this result. Their selection contributed enormously to the triumph of their cause. Garfield, the boy on the tow-path, the university alumnus, the learned professor, the college president, the gallant soldier, the congressional leader, the United States Senator and brilliant orator, enthusiastic, generous,

and impulsive, presented a most picturesque, captivating, and dashing candidate; while Arthur's cool judgment, unequalled skill, commanding presence, and rare gifts for conciliating and converting revengeful partisans into loyal and eager followers, brought behind his chief a united and determined party. But no sooner was the victory won than the internal strife was renewed with intensified bitterness. In demonstrating the evils and power of patronage it gave effective impetus to the triumph of Civil Service Reform. The struggle was transferred from Washington to Albany, and this Capitol became the field for the most envenomed and passionate contest of the century. The whole Republic was involved in the conflict. Upon it depended the control of the Government. Vice-president Arthur, whose loyalty to his friends was the central motive of his life, deemed it his duty to come here and take command of the forces on the one side, while a share in the conduct of the other devolved upon me. The murderous fury of the fray dissolved friendships of a lifetime, but I hail with profound gratification the fact that ours survived it. The bullet of Guiteau struck down President Garfield, and in the whirlwind of resentment and revenge, General Arthur, by the very necessity of his position, became the object of most causeless and cruel suspicion and assault. But in that hour the real greatness of his character became resplendent. The politician gave place to the statesman, and the partisan to the President. As a spent ball having missed its mark is buried in the heart of a friend, so the dying passions of the Civil War by one mad and isolated crime murdered Abraham Lincoln, the one man in the country who had the power and disposition to do at once, for those whom the assassin proposed to help and avenge, all that was afterwards accomplished through many years of probation, humiliation, and suffering. But in the death of Garfield the Spoils System, which dominated parties, made and unmade statesmen, shaped the policy of the Government, and threatened the integrity and perpetuity of our institutions, received a fatal blow. It aroused the country to the perils both to the proper conduct of the business of the Government and to the Government itself.

A morbid sentiment that the civil service was a Pretorian Guard, to be recruited from the followers of the successful chief without regard to the fitness of the officer removed or the quali-

fictions of the man who took his place, created the moral monstrosity—Guiteau. The Spoils System murdered Garfield, and the murder of Garfield shattered the system. The months during which President Garfield lay dying by the sea at Elberon were phenomenal in the history of the world. The sufferer became a member of every household in the land, and in all countries, tongues, and creeds, sympathetic prayers ascended to God for the recovery of the great ruler beyond the ocean, who had sprung from the common people and illustrated the possibilities for the individual where all men are equal before the law. While he who was to succeed him if he died, though in no place in and in no sense charged with sympathy with the assassination, yet was made to feel a national resentment and distrust which threatened his usefulness and even his life. Whether he spoke or was silent, he was alike misrepresented and misunderstood. None but those most intimate with him can ever know the agony he suffered during those frightful days, and how earnestly he prayed that in the returning health of his chief he might be spared the fearful trial of his death. When the end came for General Garfield, Arthur entered the White House as he had taken the oath of office—alone. A weaker man would have succumbed; a narrower one would have seized upon the patronage and endeavored to build up his power by strengthening his faction; but the lineage and training of Arthur stood in this solemn and critical hour for patriotism and manliness. Friends, co-workers within the old lines, and associates under the old conditions, looking for opportunities for recognition or for revenge, retired chastened and enlightened from the presence of the President of the United States. The man had not changed. He was the same genial, companionable, and loving gentleman, but in the performance of public duty he rose to the full measure and dignity of his great office. It was the process which has been witnessed before among our statesmen, where under the pressure of sudden and grave responsibilities the evolution of character and capacity which would, under ordinary conditions, have taken a lifetime, or perhaps never matured, culminates in a moment. The most remarkable examples in our history were Abraham Lincoln and, in a lesser degree, Edwin M. Stanton and Salmon P. Chase. The cold and hesitating constituency which expected the President to use for the personal and selfish ends and ambitions of himself

and friends the power so suddenly and unexpectedly acquired, saw the Chief Magistrate of a mighty nation so performing his duties, so administering his trust, so impartially acting for the public interests and the public welfare, that he entered upon the second year of his term in the full possession of the confidence of his countrymen.

The grateful task of review and portrayal of the history of his administration has been most worthily assigned in these ceremonies to the learned, eloquent, and eminent lawyer who was the Attorney-general in his Cabinet.

President Arthur will be distinguished both for what he did and what he refrained from doing. The strain and intensity of public feeling, the vehemence of the angry and vindictive passions of the time, demanded the rarest of negative as well as positive qualities. The calm and even course of government allayed excitement and appealed to the better judgment of the people. But though not aggressive or brilliant, his administration was sensible and strong and admirably adjusted to the conditions which created and attended it. He spoke vigorously for the reform and improvement of the Civil Service, and when Congress, acting upon his suggestions, enacted the law, he constructed the machinery for its execution which has since accomplished most satisfactory, though as yet incomplete, results. On questions of currency and finance he met the needs of public and private credit and the best commercial sentiment of the country. He knew the necessity for efficient coast defenses and a navy equal to the requirements of the age. He keenly felt the weakness of our merchant marine, and the total destruction of the proud position we had formerly held among the maritime nations of the world, and did what he could to move Congress to wise and patriotic legislation. When the measures of his period are crowded into oblivion by the rapid and ceaseless tread of the events of each hour in our phenomenal development and its needs, two acts of dramatic picturesqueness and historical significance will furnish themes for the orator and illustrations for the academic stage of the future.

The centennial of the final surrender at Yorktown, which marked the end of the Revolutionary War and the close of English rule, was celebrated with fitting splendor and appropriateness. The presence of descendants of Lafayette and of Steuben, as the

guests of the nation, typified the undying gratitude of the Republic for the services rendered by the great French patriot and his countrymen, and by the famous German soldier. But the President, with characteristic grace and tact, determined that the ceremonies should officially record also that all feelings of hostility against the Mother Country were dead. He directed that the celebration should be closed by a salute in honor of the British flag, "in recognition," as he felicitously said, "of the friendly relations so long and so happily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, in the trust and confidence of peace and good will between the two countries for all the centuries to come"; and then he added the sentence which might be America's message of congratulation at the Queen's Jubilee this summer: "and especially as a mark of the profound respect entertained by the American people for the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne."

General Grant was dying of a lingering and most painful disease. Manifold and extraordinary misfortunes had befallen him, and his last days were clouded with great mental distress and doubt. The old soldier was most anxious to know that his countrymen freed him, and would hold his memory sacred from blame, in connection with the men and troubles with which he had become so strangely, innocently, and most inextricably involved. Whether his life should suddenly go out in the darkness, or be spared for an indefinite period, was largely dependent upon some act which would convey to him the confidence and admiration of the people. Again were illustrated both General Arthur's strong friendship and his always quick and correct appreciation of the expression of popular sentiment. By timely suggestions to Congress, speedily acted upon, he happily closed the administration by affixing as its last official act his signature to the nomination, which was confirmed with tumultuous cheers, creating Ulysses S. Grant General of the Army. The news, flashed to the hero with affectionate message, rescued him from the grave to enjoy for months the blissful assurance that comrades and countrymen had taken his character and career into their tender and watchful keeping.

There has rarely been in the history of popular governments so great a contrast as in the public appreciation of General Arthur at the time of his inauguration and when he retired from office.

The President of whom little was expected and much feared returned to private life enjoying in a larger degree than most of his predecessors the profound respect and warm regard of the people, without distinction of party. He was a warm-hearted, social, pleasure-loving man, but capable of the greatest industry, endurance, and courage. He dearly loved to gratify his friends; but if he thought the public interests so required, no one could more firmly resist their desires or their importunities. By his dignity and urbanity, and his rich possession of the graces which attract and adorn in social intercourse, he gave a new charm to the hospitalities of the White House. Though the son of a country clergyman and unfamiliar with courts, in him the veteran courtiers of the Old World found all the culture, the proper observance of ceremonial proprieties, and the indications of power which surround emperors and kings of ancient lineage and hereditary positions, but tempered by a most attractive republican simplicity. He said to me early in his administration: "My sole ambition is to enjoy the confidence of my countrymen." Toward this noble ideal he strove with undeviating purpose. Even in the mistakes he made could be seen his manly struggle to be right. Once again in private station and resuming the practice of his profession, he moved among his fellow-citizens receiving the homage and recognition which came of their pride in the way he had borne the honors and administered the duties of the Chief Magistracy of the Republic.

In his last illness he had the sympathy and prayers of the nation; and the grand gathering of the men most distinguished in every department of our public and private life, who sorrowfully bore him to the grave, was the solemn tribute of the whole people, through their representatives, to his worth as a man and his eminence as a public servant.

CENTENNIAL OF DEATH OF WASHINGTON

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE ON THE CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON, BY THE GREAT COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, IMPROVED ORDER OF RED MEN, AT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 14, 1899.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Centuries come and centuries go. From the limitless past two stand out conspicuously. History is a disheartening record of experiment and failure in the culture of liberty; but in the eighteenth century the foundations of human rights were laid deep, strong, and perpetual, and upon them the nineteenth has builded with marvellous success. The wonders of our period were made possible by the wisdom and courage of its predecessor. The eighteenth century witnessed the life and work of Washington. The nineteenth is reaping its fruitage. Happily for humanity the settlement of our country was delayed until the modern spirit had broken the chains of medievalism and feudalism, until there was a clear apprehension of civil and religious liberty.

The Puritans in England, and Luther and Calvin on the continent, had inaugurated independence of thought and speech and brought into the arena of discussion the gravest problems of life, while trade and commerce had created an educated middle class possessed of the open mind which comes from contact with the world. Marston Moor and Naseby had rudely shattered reverence for power unless its decrees were based on right, and the beheading of Charles the First had dethroned the divinity which had been the safety of kings. Three thousand miles of ocean and the exhausting wars of Europe had left the colonists thus nurtured and taught to work out, with little interference from home, their ideas of government for themselves and by themselves. The Habeas Corpus, the Bill of Rights, the Common Law, the literature of a noble period for English letters, were theirs. They had left behind aristocracy, primogeniture, and entail.

In every home, however humble, was the Bible. No imagination can picture, no words portray, the influence of the constant

study of the Bible in the development of the generation which fought out our Revolution. It inspired the whole population with lofty ideals, stern and unflinching adherence to what they believed their rights, and a cheerful, almost eager, purpose to sacrifice property and life for God and liberty. It gave them great thoughts and a wonderful command of language to express them.

These conditions brought forth immortal names, but their finest product was George Washington. Indiscriminate eulogy has obscured the lesson of his career. He was neither a prodigy nor an accident. Rare gifts of mind and body were supplemented by a genius of common sense. He utilized, with indomitable industry, every opportunity to master the art of war and to understand the science of government. He was also the most methodical and far-sighted business man of his time. He loved the hunting-field and was foremost in every athletic sport. Jefferson says that Washington was the best horseman he ever saw, and his fondness for fine horses drew him from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia to witness a famous race. The only officer who came from the bloody field of the Braddock massacre with honor and glory was Colonel Washington. At the age of twenty-six he had been for five years in continuous active military service under able generals of the British Army and in independent commands. In his campaigns he had become personally familiar with the country from Boston on the east to the extreme boundaries of the western wilds. He was a trained soldier of brilliant reputation when he assumed command of the Continental Army at Cambridge twenty years afterward. For two decades as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and of Continental conventions and conferences, he had mastered the controversies with Great Britain and become a constructive statesman of the first rank.

It has been given to no other man in the story of nations to be the repository of the destinies of his country in so many and such varied crises in its history. Washington's career demonstrates the value of character. In genius and acquirement in several lines Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams were his superiors. Each of them had a large following, but the following formed a faction. All parties reposed unquestioning confidence in the uprightness and unselfish patriotism of Washington. "There is

but one character which keeps them in awe," said Edmund Randolph. A favorite fad of the levelling up by universal education in our day is the one that no man is indispensable to the people, the army, the government, a cause, or an industry. But in the clearer view of a century's retrospect we now see that the death of Washington at any time between 1776 and 1797 would have changed the destiny and delayed, if not destroyed, the development of this nation. The conspiracy of Conway was to make Gates Commander-in-Chief, and time has proved that Gates was a vainglorious incompetent, under whose leadership the Revolution would have collapsed.

When peace and independence were assured, the victorious army encamped at Newburgh in sullen discontent. It was ragged, hungry, and suffering from long arrears of pay. It had little respect for the Congress which was so indifferent to its services and its wants. Under the leadership of a popular soldier, who became in after years Secretary of War, it placed the dictatorship before Washington. There were in the past an unbroken line of great captains, who, in the hour of such temptation, had surrendered patriotism to ambition. A general less loved would have been set aside on refusal and another chosen. Washington, by speech and example, lifted his comrades above their sufferings and anger to loyal devotion to the Republic which had been won by their valor, and established for all time the only principle on which a free government can exist, the subordination of the military to civil authority.

The years between the evacuation of New York by the British in 1783 and the adoption of the Constitution in 1788 were the trial years of representative government. The Continental Congress was without authority to meet the necessities of the young confederacy, and the jealousies of the colonies threatened chaos and ruin. It was Washington who summoned the conference which resulted in the calling of a convention to frame a constitution. That body sitting with closed doors, its members full of local prejudices and antagonistic views, the fierce passions of sectional strife surging about its place of meeting, must create institutions which would meet the critical conditions of the hour, and have elasticity and expansiveness enough for the growth and development of a republic of continental area and vast population. History gave them the precedents of a democracy like

Athens, which was impossible in a large country, or royal authority, either absolute or mildly checked. It told the disheartening story of the leagues between nations and cities which had ended in fraternal strife and ruin. The journal of this majestic convention was confided to Washington and not opened until thirty-three years afterward. Each succeeding generation has scanned its pages with eager interest, but little is revealed of the mighty debates of these state builders. We know that Washington was its President, and the weight of his all-powerful influence was for a union of states in a government strong enough to resist internal dissensions and repel foreign foes. When the Constitution was perfected a new and novel form of government was presented to a wondering and skeptical world. No king, no aristocracy, no classes, no state church, a supreme court which could declare void acts of Congress, decrees of the President, and laws of the several States; paramount Federal power, with the sovereignty of the States, aroused incredulity at home and contempt abroad. The large colonies feared loss of influence and the small ones loss of independence. Washington called upon his comrades of the Continental Army and his associates in revolutionary conventions to save liberty by union. In the convention of each State his name and influence were potent with weak or wavering delegates. Washington's favoring the adoption of the Constitution carried eleven States for its ratification, and the election of Washington as first President of the United States brought in the other two. Thus for the third time was he the savior of his country.

No patriot ever accepted a great office so reluctantly. His regrets and misgivings he thus entered in his diary when he left his home to assume the Presidency: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, John Lamb, the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and multitudes of the best people of the country, doubted the new scheme of government. A large majority of the public men of the nation believed in the right of the States to nullify the acts of the Federal Government, and that it possessed

no power to enforce its decrees. It had neither navy nor merchant marine. Its unpaid army was disbanded. There were no manufactures, no credit, and a discredited currency. Our bills for only six hundred thousand dollars had been protested in Europe, and by protest and insurrection the people declared their inability to pay four millions of dollars a year in taxes. The governments of Europe received our representatives with scant courtesy or contempt. The only bond of union and the only basis for confidence was the idolatrous devotion of the people to their President. Upon him rested the gravest responsibility ever imposed on a ruler.

Washington knew neither envy nor jealousy. He summoned to his Cabinet the ablest and most distinguished men. Hamilton was the advocate of centralization, Jefferson of State rights, and Adams and the others of different and antagonistic views of the prerogatives of the President and the powers of Congress. To build a nation out of chaos and to hold up and hold together the young Republic until stable foundations could be laid under it, was the gigantic task of Washington. The waves of party passions surged against him, intrigues and conspiracies were formed to undermine him, and Jay and Hamilton and other supporters of his policies were stoned or burned in effigy; secret correspondence and the vilest charges and insinuations inspired by members of his official family and published broadcast in the press were used to break the trust the people had in him. Often discouraged, but never disheartened; often aggrieved, but never angry; calmly, patiently, and heroically he united liberty with law and liberty with union. He created public credit, found sources of revenue, promoted progress and energized development, and brought the new machinery of administration and its many departments into harmonious working, until by his genius and firmness the young Republic grew to be a nation which inspired loyalty at home and commanded respect abroad.

The French Revolution threatened to involve the world in war. The waves of its madness swept over the United States and were followed by a passionate demand for an offensive and defensive alliance with France, which would have destroyed our government. Washington alone grasped the perils of the situation and remained calm and immovable. Neither popular clamor nor legislative pressure could plunge the Republic into the vortex

while he barred the way. Said a distinguished Englishman: "The foundations of the moral world were shaken, but not the judgment of Washington."

Eight years after the foreboding entry in his diary on accepting the Presidency, he returned to Mount Vernon. His work was completed. He had given national life to the stately sentences on the parchment containing the Constitution. Elastic and indestructible institutions, principles, and policies were working harmoniously and smoothly for liberty and union, and national growth and grandeur. The pace had been so set for the perpetuity of the American Republic that neither party passions, nor sectional discord, nor civil war could destroy it, or impair its glorious opportunities for its citizens and its inspiring example for peoples of other lands struggling for their rights.

After forty-five years devoted to the public service, Washington was permitted by his grateful but reluctant countrymen to retire to the private station he so much coveted and his beloved Mount Vernon. In a century distinguished for brutal tyranny, reckless ambition, destructive party spirit, and popular frenzy, the life and career of Washington first astonished and then won the admiration and reverence of the world. His home on the Potomac became a Mecca, and pilgrims of royal birth, of great achievement, of passionate zeal to meet the foremost man and most exalted character of the ages, came to pay him homage and to be received with cordial and gracious hospitality.

From thence one hundred years ago to-day his spirit ascended to heaven, leaving his people in tears and his country draped in mourning. Europe joined in the universal sorrow. The British channel fleet lowered their flags at half mast. Napoleon Bonaparte ordered that black crape should be suspended from all standards and flags for ten days, and arranged an imposing funeral ceremonial and testimonial oration. Lord Brougham with characteristic clearness and eloquence condensed the judgment of mankind. He said, "It will be the duty of the historian and the sage of all nations to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man, and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

If the brightest intelligence, most hopeful spirit, and most

brilliant imagination standing by the bier of Washington had predicted the results for a century of the experiment of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, his prophecies would have been commonplace compared with the marvelous blessings which to-night are the glorious heritage of Americans., These are the eloquent figures of material growth. Then we had a republic of fifteen States, now forty-five. Our country covered eight hundred and five thousand, four hundred and sixty-one square miles, now three million six hundred and two thousand nine hundred and ninety on this continent and one hundred and thirty thousand more in our colonial islands.

The population of four millions has become at least seventy-five millions. Our revenues have increased from twelve to over six hundred millions, and our estimated wealth from a hundred millions to a hundred billions of dollars. We import seven hundred millions of merchandise annually against seventy-nine millions in 1799, and from an exporting country of seventy-eight millions a year, the products of our fields, factories, and mines exported, yield twelve hundred and twenty-seven millions of dollars. The balance of trade against us in 1799 was exhausting the slender resources of our forefathers, while now the opulent surplus is making us the richest, most prosperous, and most progressive nation in the world. Two hundred thousand miles of railroads and a million miles of telegraph wires have succeeded the twenty thousand miles of post routes on which was then conducted the internal traffic and the dissemination of letters and literature. The earnings of the railroads, or the output of our mines, or the products of our farms, are every year far in excess of the total wealth of the country at the death of Washington. The nineteen colleges at the close of the last century have grown to four hundred and seventy-two, with one hundred and sixty thousand students, while fifty thousand more are in the theological, law, medical, and scientific schools. The common-school system, which hardly existed outside of New England, now numbers among the youth of our land fifteen millions of pupils.

There were only seventy-five thousand books in the United States, while to-day there are seventy-six millions in our public libraries alone. There was not a boat on the Ohio, the Missis-

sippi, or the Missouri Rivers, or on the Great Lakes at the close of Washington's administration; we close the century with an internal commerce by land and water greater than that on all the other seas of the earth and all the railroads of the rest of the world. We were at that time importing everything we used, except the products of the fields and forests. But to-day our agricultural machines sow and plow and reap on the fields of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Our locomotives are in England, our bridges span the Nile, our electrical appliances find their way into the colonies of European countries and on the Continent. Our iron and steel and textile fabrics are invading foreign markets. We have become so much the granary of the Old World that an interruption of our exports for three months would produce industrial anarchy in England.

The Seven Years' War began with the defeat of Braddock and the youthful fame of Washington at Fort Duquesne, and ended with the peace of Paris, which gave Silesia to Frederick the Great, and transferred the Canadas from France to Great Britain. The one started the German Empire, the other led to the tyrannical acts which caused the American Revolution. But the American example and our federal principle of government have borne abundant fruit. The resistless force of the success of our republican experiment penetrated cabinets and aroused peoples. Our government is the only one whose Constitution and institutions have stood the strain of steam and electricity, of the intelligence and development of the nineteenth century without material change. The splendors of the Victorian jubilee were the results of the growth of the democratic spirit, and the recognition of colonial rights and the spirit of federation in England's colonial empire. Germany became a federal government with imperial power for imperial purposes, with independent sovereign States, in 1871. Her progress in all which makes a great and prosperous power in twenty-nine years has been greater than in any century of her history.

Washington's farewell address is chart and compass for the twentieth as it has been for the nineteenth century. It is at once the sum and substance of the principles of our national development and perpetuity and the forecast of our fate. Its central idea is that the liberty and happiness of our people at home, and our position among foreign nations is wholly depen-

dent upon the preservation of the union of the States. For that idea a million of citizens shed their blood, and against it a half million died in battle, but the centennial of his death finds us a united people, and at every crossroad and in every hamlet all over our land, the Stars and Stripes floating from the school-houses is eloquent testimony that the present and coming generations have one flag and one country.

Washington advocated the maintenance of the public credit as essential to national prosperity. At one period and another, in times of industrial distress and mercantile troubles, wild schemes of finance, fiat money, and debased currency have captured the support of large sections of our citizens, but the century closes with the credit of the United States in the first rank among nations, and our faith and honor untarnished. He advised free popular education, by which law and liberty should rest upon intelligence, and the most complete and beneficent system of common and high schools embrace all our youth. He warned against party passion rising to revolution, and when the partisans of a defeated candidate for the Presidency believed him wronged in the count, the strife was settled not by civil war, but by a high court of arbitration. He urged the vital importance of keeping the executive, legislative, and judicial departments forever independent in their several spheres. This is the fundamental principle of our institutions. History is full of usurpations by the Executive ending in an autocrat or by the Legislature resulting in an oligarchy. The duty of governing a nation so vast and populous as ours has become has given undreamed of power and dignity to each branch; but neither the President nor Congress has encroached upon the authority of the other, nor has either diminished the original and unusual powers of the Supreme Court.

This great court, to which, in our government only, in the ruling of nations, is given the authority of review and veto upon unconstitutional acts of the States and laws passed by Congress and approved by the President, is the most majestic of tribunals. For a century it has administered justice in litigation affecting the rights of States and citizens, and upon questions involving the integrity of our institutions, which have aroused fierce and dangerous partisanship among the people, with won-

derful ability and wisdom. Its decisions become the judgment of the country.

He was strenuous that our Government should form no permanent alliance with any European power, and that we should keep out of European policies, conflicts, and politics. We always have been, and we always will be, free from such entanglements, and an effective treaty of offensive and defensive alliance could never be confirmed. He zealously impressed the necessity and lesson of religion and morality. We have abolished slavery and extirpated polygamy, and the churches never had so strong a hold on the faith and understanding of the people.

If the spirit of Washington has the same absorbing interest in his country that he had of anxiety while living for its future, heaven holds to-night no happier soul. Our institutions were strained in the preliminary trial to govern a fringe of settlements along the Atlantic Coast, and the sparsely populated wilderness ending at the then boundaries of our country on the Ohio River. In the experience of a hundred years of national development they have been found sufficient for the wants and elastic enough for the growth of the Republic, which has expanded to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, the Pacific Ocean on the west, and the Arctic Circle on the north.

American liberty assimilates all races which come under its influence and authority. It not only converts the immigrants from every land into good citizens, but it has made the territory of Spanish Florida, of French Louisiana, and of Mexican Texas, of California, Arizona, and New Mexico, safe seats and centers of material prosperity and political power. Its educating and uplifting force is already producing beneficent results in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. In less than one generation it will change the conditions of brigandage and anarchy, produced by centuries of oppression, into those of enlightened self-government. With the suppression of the insurrection and the extension of the authority of the United States over the Philippine Islands, will come to a people long ruled by force and fraud American law and justice, and American recognition and administration of the rights and remedies for the wrongs of every individual. Protection for life and property and the equality of all before the law breed the habit of loyalty to order

and the faculty for self-government. Peace and prosperity which follow will substitute public spirit and patriotic citizenship for secret police and hostile garrisons.

In the evolution of a hundred years the Presidency has reached the dignity and power desired by Washington, but denied by all his contemporaries, except Hamilton. The possibilities of the chief magistracy were discovered by Jefferson when he surrendered constitutional scruples for national safety by the purchase of Louisiana. They startled the country when General Jackson seized the sovereign State of South Carolina by the throat. They received the sanction of popular approval when, in the stress of civil war, Lincoln, by a stroke of his pen, confiscated four hundred millions of recognized property by freeing four millions of slaves. The necessities of the situation in our island protectorate and possessions have devolved still greater duties and graver responsibilities on President McKinley. Extraordinary centralization and concentration of power at the Federal capital have created one of the foremost of nations, without impairing the rights, the proper independence, or the self-government of the States. The President of the United States is the most powerful ruler in the world, but only as the executive of a free people, to whom every four years he surrenders his office and prerogatives.

The peril of the nineteenth century was disunion, that of the twentieth will be congestion. The productive power of invention, steam, and electricity creates a surplus which endangers the health, happiness, and lives of the people of Europe and America. But dependent races of the Orient and of Africa, and the stimulating processes of Western civilization upon their wants present limitless markets. The United States, which stood on sufferance at the doors of kings' palaces at the death of Washington, is entering upon its hundredth anniversary as an equal in the affairs of the world, among the great powers of Europe. At Manila we are at the door of the East, and none can close it against us.

The intensely hostile feeling of 1799 toward Great Britain has developed in 1899 into mutual respect and cordial good will. Without any alliance, without any violation of the sacred warning of Washington against European entanglements, there is an emulous and friendly rivalry in commerce and a frank sym-

pathy in many purposes and aspirations which make for the peace of the world, and are the hope of the future for civilization and humanity under the guidance of English-speaking peoples.

In the fingers of time monuments and reputations decay and crumble. Statesmen, soldiers, authors, and orators fill the stage for a period and gradually drop out of sight and memory. A few worthies of the eighteenth century live in the admiration or affection of their own countries. Of them all, only Washington is in the thought and reverence of the whole world. The resistless harvester in his annual rounds shoulders his scythe as he passes before this beneficent intelligence and pure fame, salutes and marches on. We, his countrymen, after a century whose search-light has revealed the vices and weaknesses of our heroes and made our ideals common clay, find no flaw in his public or private life, no sentence in the many volumes of his utterances which we would blot out. The orator who stands in my place in the coming centuries to recount the marvelous story of the great Republic, and to recall its architects and builders, will find the wisdom and example for its guidance and growth in the achievements, character, and life of George Washington.

STATUE OF COLUMBUS

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF COLUMBUS IN
CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK, MAY 12, 1894.

NEW YORK can add nothing to the glory of Columbus, but she may enforce the lesson of his life and discovery. The fire kindled by him on a little island of the Western Hemisphere, amid the darkness of the fifteenth century, has become the flame which illumines the nineteenth with light and liberty. Seed time and harvest have their soil and seasons with humanity as with the earth. In all ages and among all races, the winds and the waves have borne the kernels of truth, and they have been lost on the rocks and in the waters. There were patriots before Runnymede, but their blood fertilized that field for Magna Charta. Patriots had labored and died in vain before the Declaration of Independence in 1776. German Federation had been a Teutonic dream for two thousand years before Bismarck. Italian unity was the hope of Italy for centuries before Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour. The French Republic was the effort and inspiration of the best thinkers and boldest actors of France for a hundred years before Thiers and Gambetta. The Viking sailed along the coast of North America and planted colonies upon its shores five hundred years before Columbus. But the time was not ripe and the people of Europe were not prepared for America and its opportunities.

The brilliant and liberal reign of Lorenzo the Magnificent at Florence, which closed as Columbus sailed from Palos, had stimulated commerce, art, and learning. It had both awakened and opened the mind in every country on the continent. The literary treasures of the great library of the Vatican were placed at the disposal of scholars, and the revival of learning was a marked feature of the period. The expulsion of the Moslems from Spain had relieved Europe of the strain of warring creeds. Intense intellectual activity was breaking the bonds of the Middle Ages and preparing the way for independent thought and discovery. The statesmanship and the guile of Louis the Elev-

enth in France, and the concentration of power in Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, had broken down feudalism and centralized authority. The road from the dismantled castles of the barons to the royal palace, and from the royal palace to the representative assembly of the people, became the highway of liberty. These wonderful and revolutionary events were for a time the blessings only of the favored few, the great, and the learned.

It was reserved not for kings or nobles or the mighty of earth to utilize the past and present for the uplifting of the masses of mankind. We may say reverently, as Christianity came for us through the son of a carpenter, so the invention which opened the way for christianizing the world was wrought out by a humble artisan of Mayence. The significance of types, and the prophecy of their use, were made clear in the selection of the Bible as their first work. The printing press of Guttenberg, and the invention of paper which had preceded it only a few years, were the levers and the levelers of the future. By bringing education within the reach of all, they elevated the people to the understanding and practice of liberty; and equal opportunity and rights battered down privilege and caste.

Incidents, which to the pious are special providences and to others trifling accidents, have often altered the course of history. The marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand enabled a liberal and generous mind to influence a bigoted and miserly one for the venture, certainly rash, perhaps blasphemous, into the unknown West, and made possible the voyage of Columbus. A hungry boy stopped his proud and mendicant father at the door of the convent of La Rabida, to meet there in the person of the Prior, the enlightened and learned Father Juan Perez, Confessor of the Queen, the only man living who had both the breadth and independence to understand and believe in the plans of the great navigator, and also the confidence of her Majesty. It was the flight of birds which changed the course of the *Santa Maria* and her consorts and gave South America to Spain and Portugal, and the dominant power on the Northern Continent to the Saxon race. Thus, the United States, as distinguished from the Spanish republics and the Portuguese empire and subsequent republic of Brazil, is apparently an accident of an accident. It is really the result of climate and conditions suited to the development of that resistless strain in the blood which circles the

Globe with its conquests and, blended with Teuton and Celt, with Latin and Scandinavian, increases the power and the promise of our country.

Ferdinand was a typical representative of his times. We must judge the men of every period by their standards, not ours. Only fools are offended at criticisms of the State or Church of the Dark Ages, and only the ignorant claim that either was so abreast with the thought or education of to-day that their substitution for present conditions would receive either welcome or hospitality. The King believed the torture chamber better than courts of justice. He knew of no law superior to his autocratic will. He was frugal to meanness, and devoid of generosity and integrity. He laughed at Columbus when the great navigator was pleading for the ships to find for him an empire, and he cheated the dying hero of the rewards he promised and the honors he had pledged, when the empire was won. To Isabella had been wafted across space a breath of the purer air of the nineteenth century. When we consider what she was, in spite of the almost insurmountable barriers of her environment, a sweet and mighty spirit seems to have escaped from the bondage of the age and inspired, in the beautiful person of the Queen, the soul of a saint and prophetess. She gave her jewels for the fleet, and with undimmed faith waited for the return which ended in triumphal processions and royal greetings. She struck the shackles from the Indian slaves brought her as part of the booty of the New World and issued stern decrees against cruelty and lust; but they were nullified by her untimely death, and myriads of innocent men, women, and children, were consigned to nameless horrors and final extermination. This favored land recognizes its obligations to its benefactress in granting to woman privileges and opportunities unknown in other countries. It gives to her independence and control in her property; it opens for her the academy and the university, and yields to her a precedence and power at home and in society which puts within her grasp the substance of rights, which in the boasted age of chivalry were only a flowery and pretentious sham.

Columbus was of that rare type of genius which belongs to no age, and rises above the errors, or superstitions, or ignorance of his period. While most of the learned and all the unlearned believed the earth to be flat, he boldly proclaimed its sphericity;

while almost everybody feared the monsters of the deep, waiting beyond the western horizon to devour daring and sacriligious mariners and destroy their ships, he saw on the other side of the unknown sea limitless empire for his sovereigns, and myriads of souls for the saving offices of his Church. He had sailed to the farthest limits of the discoveries of the times; he had investigated with unprejudiced and unclouded mind the evidences cast up by the ocean of other lands and strange peoples. As sailor, privateer, and pirate, he had experienced the dangers of hostile elements and armed enemies; as geographer and map maker he had absorbed all the teachings of the past, and boldly placed upon his maps the new continent with its untold wealth of gold and precious stones, and its unequalled opportunities for the power and greatness of the throne which would grant him the facilities of his voyage. The conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain seemed to the statesmen of Europe an event of transcendent importance, but to this superb enthusiast it was a local affair which delayed the plans for the capture of a continent.

The spiritual and temporal power and the pomp and pageantry of Castile and Aragon formed an array unequalled in brilliancy when its King and Queen, its prelates and statesmen, its philosophers and soldiers, assembled to receive from Boabdil the keys of his capital and the capitulation of his kingdom. The enthusiasm of the hour lifted the Spanish hosts to heavenly ecstasy, all save one. This proud pauper, the royal purple of his imagination giving dignity to his rags and majesty to his mien, looked coldly on the splendid spectacle. To the man who had waited for years, because he would accept no other terms with his fleet than the Admiralty of the Ocean, the Vice Royalty of the Indies, and one-tenth the revenues of the Western Hemisphere, the martial field before him was only a skirmish on the battle line of the universe.

The faults of Columbus were the results of the civilization and conditions of his times, from which no man is great enough wholly to escape, but his faith was his own. After the lapse of four hundred years it is as impressive to us as it was potent with his contemporaries. It gave immortality to the humble convent of La Rabida and its noble prior; it clarified the atmosphere and dispelled the darkness about Isabella so that she could grasp

the great truth; it calmed the fears and quelled the mutiny of the crew, and found its reward in the glimmering light on San Salvador which meant for the sailors land at last, and for the Admiral the New World of his dreams, for which he had suffered and after discouragements and perils innumerable had discovered.

In 1492 was issued the cruel edict which confiscated the property of hundreds of thousands of Jews and expelled them from Spain. In the same year the same sovereigns equipped the fleet of Columbus for its immortal voyage. The unhappy and unfortunate Hebrews were landed upon the shores of Asia and Africa, but nowhere did they receive either welcome or hospitality. The little ships of Columbus as they sailed out of the harbor of Palos passed the great war vessels carrying these captive Israelites from their homes. The royal frigates were bearing them to fresh horrors and persecutions, but the weak and deckless caravels of the discoverer were, unknown to sovereign or servant, guided by Divine Providence to the land where all creeds and all races should dwell in the harmony of equal rights, and unite in contributing to the power and glory of a government of organized liberty.

The inspiring dream of Columbus was to utilize the treasures of the New World for the redemption from the infidel of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. He believed that by virtue of his name, Christopher, he was carrying Christ across the sea to the heathen. The lust for gold made his followers profane the name of the Prince of Peace with such outrages and cruelties, such torturings and massacres of the confiding aborigines, as caused even the fifteenth century to shudder. He died, with his dream of the rescue of the tomb of the Saviour still a vision. He little knew, as he lay helpless amidst the ruin of his hopes, that though he had lost an empty grave, he had found a perpetual asylum for conscience. He could not foresee that, while in their savage greed those with him and those who came after gave to the Indians, not the light of truth, but consigned them to the flames, and brought to them, not the gospel of love, but fell upon them with sword and spear, the country he had discovered would be the bulwark and hope of the Church.

The Pilgrim Fathers fled from persecution in England to religious liberty in Massachusetts. The Highlanders who fought

for Prince Charles Edward Stuart found refuge in North Carolina. The Quakers who to be free from their tormentors sailed to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, received there with open arms the Germans driven from the Palatinate by Louis the Fourteenth. The Huguenots who escaped from France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, built happy homes on the Hudson and under the shelter of the groves of South Carolina. Oglethorpe led the Teutons who sought opportunity to worship God according to their lights, from Salzburg to Georgia. Irishmen, saved from the merciless conquests of Cromwell, scattered all over the land to consecrate their altars and enjoy in safety their religion. Dutch Protestants came to New York, Swedish Protestants to Delaware, English Catholics to Maryland, and the English Church Cavaliers to Virginia. The best contribution of Columbus to future generations was a continent for the cultivation of civil and religious liberty. A State built upon the individual and not upon classes or creeds is the source and strength of American freedom.

It was the supreme good fortune of the United States that the conditions of existence for its first settlers were labor, temperance, and thrift. The hostile savages, the rigors of the climate, the virgin forests, and the resisting soil demanded the indomitable energy and dauntless courage which fashion heroes and patriots. Had there been gold mines in New England, New York, and Virginia to excite the cupidity of kings and tempt the adventurers of Europe, and to demoralize the inhabitants of the colonies and take them from their homes and their churches to the feverish excitement of mining camps, there would have been little permanent settlement or public sentiment. The farms on the bleak hillsides of Connecticut and Massachusetts, in the Mohawk Valley, along the Delaware and on the James, were fountains of national virtue and springs of free thought and free speech. It was the training and experience of necessity which opened the avenues of opportunity for the people of North America. It enabled the "embattled farmers" at Concord and Lexington to face the veterans of European battlefields; it nerved the members of the Continental Congress to brave the terrors of treason, confiscation, and death, by their bold and clear signatures to the Declaration of Independence; it reared and trained a race who could rescind slavery, though interwoven with their political system from foundation to turret,

and, after bloody battles between the upholders of the one side and of the other, could reunite to labor harmoniously for the welfare and strength of the purified Republic.

The Columbian idea of discovery was to find a land of riches, where gold could be mined from exhaustless stores, a land flowing with rivers of diamonds and precious stones. Limitless wealth, easily acquired, was to enrich, beyond the dreams of avarice, the sovereigns and people of Spain. The Spaniard had no conception of the adventurous pioneer and thrifty emigrant. The Pilgrims, landing on Plymouth Rock in midwinter with no other purpose than to found a State for the enjoyment by all of just and equal laws, would have aroused his wonder and contempt. The imagination cannot picture his amazement could he have foreseen the marvelous results of the *Mayflower's* voyage. The wealth poured in such abundant measure from the mines of the New World into the treasury of Spain was a potent factor in the fall of her power and prestige in Europe.

The founders of our Republic welcomed with cordial hospitality all who came to escape from oppression or to better their condition. The immigrants who accepted the invitation and landed by millions on our shores brought the qualities and purposes which have added incalculably to the wealth and glory of our country. While South America and Mexico were demoralizing Europe with gold and silver, Europe was contributing to the United States her farmers and artisans to gather from the fruitful earth and produce in the busy factory an annual and ever increasing volume of wealth; wealth which enriches but does not enervate, which stimulates invention, promotes progress, founds institutions of learning, builds homes for the many and increases the happiness of all. Four centuries separate us from Columbus. Within this period more has been accomplished for humanity than in the four thousand years which preceded him.

We are here to erect this statue to his memory because of the unnumbered blessings to America, and to the people of every race and clime, as the results of his discovery. His genius and faith gave to succeeding generations the opportunity for life and liberty. We, the heirs of all the ages, in the plenitude of our enjoyments and the prodigality of the favors showered upon us, hail Columbus—hero and benefactor.

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL DAY SERVICES OF THE GRAND ARMY
OF THE REPUBLIC, CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK, MAY 30,
1905.

MR. PRESIDENT, COMRADES AND FRIENDS: It is both fortunate and unfortunate that time buries men and events in oblivion. Grievances which might never die, passions and revenges which would never end, time happily obliterates. But there are periods of national history which should be recalled on anniversary occasions for the education and patriotism of succeeding generations.

The United States and Great Britain have fewer causes of difference and more binding ties of friendship now than any other countries. The Revolutionary War emancipated them both. Through universal suffrage democratic spirit governs Great Britain and it is not only the strength of our institutions but the inspiring motive of our national life. While fortunately the animosities of the Revolutionary War are dead, the Fourth of July must be celebrated forever. It tells the story of our birth as a nation and enforces the lesson of civil and religious liberty. It recalls heroes and statesmen for our reverence and our admiration and as exemplars of heroism and statesmanship. It is also our duty to promote the national good feeling and kinship which has followed our Civil War. It is our highest duty to abstain from all things which would revive the bitterness of that strife, yet the lessons which are taught by Memorial Day are of incalculable value. They bring back no thought of revenge or reprisal, but they are of equal force and sanctity to those who fought on both sides in that titanic struggle. The war closed forty years ago. A large majority of our people know nothing of its causes or its horrors. A brief review of the sixty years of battle between freedom and slavery which led up to it cannot be too often repeated. The blame can be so divided as to rest upon no section.

The Fathers of the Republic adopted the noblest declara-

tion of human rights ever placed before the world, when they said "All men are created equal, are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But they left a legacy of strife which ended in civil war when they compromised with liberty in order in their constitution to protect slavery. They believed in time, and that not distant, slavery would be abolished by economic causes. But it is never safe to rely upon future happenings to eradicate an evil which the generation committing it has not the courage to stamp out.

Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin gave an impetus to cotton culture and manufacture which added greatly to the value of slave labor. It created an oligarchy who, living upon the uncompensated work of others, devoted their lives to the protection and perpetuation of their system. They were educated at the best universities of Europe and the United States for public life. Those of them who displayed ability were kept continuously in Congress. They presented a solid front on all questions and at the National Conventions of all parties if slavery was affected. Their experienced and concentrated power enabled them to dominate both great parties and control the Government. The North, which had become manufacturing, while the South remained purely agricultural, found the slave-holding States their best market and the slave-holders their best customers. The wealth, the business interests, in a measure the pulpit, and in a measure also the colleges of the North were in sympathy and accord with the South. This fear of loss of trade and employment led to repeated surrenders by the free States to the slave owners at the threat of disunion. The threat of disunion was averted in 1820 by a compromise which gave slavery rights in a free territory, in 1830 by the courage and indomitable will of President Andrew Jackson, in 1850 by another compromise of more free land for slave labor, and in 1856 by the election of a pro-slavery administration. The free States, absorbed in materialism, in agriculture, manufactures, merchandise, and the development of their wealth, paid no attention while the pro-slavery administration seeing that the next election might result in an anti-slavery President, distributed our navy so that only one ship remained for national purposes, scattered our army all over the land, placed the contents of our arsenals and our military stores where they could be easily

seized by the leaders of the Rebellion and made every preparation for successful secession. The conditions were such that the growth and development which astonished the world after the Civil War were impossible. In a nominally free country labor was degraded because in one half of the land the laborer was merchandise. The moral sense of the country was so obscured by training and greed that practically all the people of the slave States and a very large minority in the free States believed slavery to be right, and property which could be righteously fought for even to the destruction of our National Union.

A few pictures will tell the story to those of you who were not participants of the awakening of the American conscience, of the development into an unquenchable flame of the smouldering fires of patriotism, of the readoption in practice and spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and a reunited country placed upon an enduring basis by enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure. They will tell you why we have to-day strewn with flowers the graves of our heroic dead and why we are here to-night. It was a beautiful April morning in 1860 when in the little village where I lived the churches had emptied their congregations and the streets were filled with the worshippers. They were a merry people of fathers and mothers, of elders and children, of lovers and sweethearts, wending their way to their several homes.

Suddenly there appeared excited men around whom were grouped instantly breathless crowds listening to the story gathered from telegraph offices that the flag had been fired upon at Fort Sumter. Up to that hour the sacredness of that emblem had not been appreciated. What it meant of national power, independence, liberty, and happiness had not been revealed. Similar scenes were occurring all over the country. The next evening in the arsenal of the little military company which had kept its organization alive since the Revolutionary War, hundreds of citizens were drilling. Then came Lincoln's call for troops. As the volunteers left, the seriousness of their mission was not yet understood. The dangers to the recruits were not apparent, the perils of the struggle were not evident, and the parting had rather the characteristics, both for those who went and those who were left behind, of an excursion than of a battle. Then came the news of the first fight. The eager scanning of the bulletin of the list of the killed and wounded. Among the company which

marched so gaily forth was one young man who was the pride of the village, the leader in its church work, in its politics as well as in its sport and athletics. The pride of the village was enhanced by the stories of his gallantry, his rapid promotion, and the distinguished career opened for him as a soldier. But when, with stores and factories closed, with the flag at half mast and with muffled drum the whole population followed him over the hills to the village churchyard the seriousness of the struggle, the issues at stake, the sacrifices to be made, came home to the families, most of whom had a member at the front. The churchgoers in increasing numbers every Sabbath appeared in the garb of mourning, but with both men and women was an increasing earnestness and determination for the extirpation of slavery, the preservation of the Union, and the support of Abraham Lincoln.

The war was over; the armies of Grant and Sherman, after marching through the streets of the Capital to be reviewed by the President, astounded the world by disbanding to their homes to take up again the peaceful pursuits of citizenship. The remnant of the regiment which had gone forth in such brave array again marched through the streets of the village to be welcomed as part of that Grand Army which had saved the Union. Years passed by and the village had its first Memorial Day. I knew every one of the Boys in Blue whose graves had been decorated. The old church had stood there more than two hundred years and been the headquarters of Washington, a hospital for the Continental Army, and a chapel as part of its existence during these two centuries. As I stood upon the porch to deliver the address every man and woman in front of me was in mourning. There was a vacant chair at every fireside of that township and the hero of the house was either lying in an unknown grave on some distant battlefield or sleeping among his kindred beside the church. As it developed what these, our dear heroes, had done and for what they fought and died the presentation was followed by such agonies of grief as happily a speaker is rarely permitted to witness. But to-day there was another gathering in the old churchyard, the families and the relatives were again there, it was no longer father, mother, wife, sweetheart, but their children and grandchildren. Time had obliterated grief, it was a joyous throng, it was strewing flowers and planting little flags upon the grave of him who had reflected the greatest honor upon the

family, whose sword or gun was its most precious possession. It was a carnival of joy in the liberty and happiness, in the prosperity and comfort, throughout the country so powerful and so rich, so full of healthful opportunity, all of which had come through their hero, who had carried during the war that cherished gun or sword, and his comrades in arms.

It is a glorious thought that the blue and the gray marched together to-day and shared the flower gifts which were impartially distributed. We owe to the South this beautiful custom. When to the women of the land of flowers came the thought of remembering in this grateful way their Confederate dead, they paid tribute also to the unmarked graves of the Union soldiers. The news of this gracious courtesy telegraphed through the North was one of the first incidents to revive fraternal feeling between the sections. In thousands of homes was the thought that possibly it was the grave of our lost one thus remembered by our Southern sisters. The union of our people, their common devotion to our flag and country received their baptism of fire when Theodore Roosevelt, Fitzhugh Lee, and Joe Wheeler fought together under Old Glory meeting the common foe.

We are astonished at the progress and development of the free States since the Civil War, but the blessings which have come to the slave States by the abolition of slavery are infinitely greater. Here are a few eloquent figures: Their population has increased from eleven to twenty-two millions; their exports and imports, from two hundred and twelve to five hundred and thirty-one millions; their cotton crop, which it was thought could be raised only by slave labor, from two millions, six hundred thousand bales to twelve millions two hundred thousand; they have now seven millions six hundred and fifty thousand cotton spindles in operation as against none in 1870, they now consume two millions of cotton bales in their own mills as against none at the close of the Civil War, their bank deposits have increased since 1870 from eighteen millions to three hundred millions; the mileage of their railroads from twelve thousand to fifty-six thousand; the value of their agricultural products from two hundred and twenty-seven millions of dollars to seven hundred and twenty-one millions; the value of their manufactures from two hundred and seventy-eight millions to twelve hundred millions; the value of their cotton manufactures from eleven millions to ninety-five millions and

their pig iron, in tons, from a hundred and thirty thousand to two millions and a half.

This annual increment means an addition to wealth and prosperity in every department of created industry such as no community similarly situated has ever even approximately enjoyed. The imagination is paralyzed in the effort to grasp the full effect in the future of corresponding growth. The lesson it enforces for us to-night is the inestimable value of liberty and union, and the mighty debt we owe to those who preserved the Union and made possible these marvelous results and unequalled opportunities.

The world was thrilled yesterday as it has not been since Trafalgar at the astounding victory of Admiral Togo. Coupled with almost equal successes on land of the Japanese armies under General Oyama there enters, with the peace which must speedily come, a new power into the family of nations with racial, traditional and religious conditions differing widely from all the others. The Orient, whose markets have been the contention of all the great industrial powers, is to fall under the dominating influence of an oriental government. The Japanese are a free people with a constitutional and representative government, free press and universal education, and with a fiery and devoted patriotism which reckons that life glorious which is sacrificed for the country. The Russian conditions are reversed. The spirit of the Japanese army and navy was our spirit during the Civil War—a love for country, union, and liberty which reckoned not the cost but sought only their triumph.

In the Union army fought side by side the native born and the naturalized citizen, but we must not be blind to the fact that in the last ten years the emigration to our shores has changed in character and quality and enormously increased in quantity. The governments of the Old World and every parish in those countries are engaged in dumping upon us their incapables, their vicious, and their burdens. At the rate of a million a year the immigrants are pouring through our ports into our country. The feeble efforts to sift the unworthy after arrival and deport them accomplishes little, there must be speedily a system of inspection, investigation, registration, and certification on the other side which will halt the pauper, the diseased, and the criminal before they start. No appropriation which would be sufficient to meet

this evil would be an extravagance, but rather a protection greater than many battleships. The Republic which the Union soldiers gained for us, if it is to continue, with all its liberties, opportunities, laws, order and happiness unimpaired, must protect and maintain as a most sacred duty the high quality of its citizenship. Our first revolution was led to victory by the foremost man of all the world and of all time. Washington needs no eulogy. His name and fame are the choicest possessions of mankind. Our second revolution was led by a man widely different from the Father of his Country. A plain representative of the plain people. For the problems to be solved in his time, the perils to be met, and the difficulties to be overcome he stood in the same supreme relation to his generation as did Washington to the Revolution. The Fourth of July tells us the story of Washington, Memorial Day of Lincoln. I can picture the Grand Army, who have joined the majority, led once more by Grant and Sherman and Sheridan, passing in shadowy procession before Lincoln and sending over spirit wires their cheers and benedictions this day to their comrades on earth.

DEDICATION OF HALL OF FAME

ADDRESS AT THE HALL OF FAME, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS, MAY 30, 1901.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: "Victory, or the Abbey!" was the cry with which Nelson began one of his great battles. It condensed in a sentence the ambition of the ages: to die for one's country and find glory and immortality in the national Pantheon. The Scandinavian Viking, whose dying vision saw revealed the Valhalla of his hero gods among whom he was to dwell eternally, departed under the same inspiring passion as the Iroquois chief-tain singing his death song, surrounded by heaps of slain enemies. It is doubtful if in any period but ours the great statesman, writer or artist ranked with the soldier. It is the distinction of our time that with advancing civilization we dedicate, beside the panel devoted to the warrior, others with equal honor in the Hall of Fame for authors and editors, rulers and statesmen, judges and lawyers, preachers and theologians, philanthropists, educators, musicians, painters and sculptors, physicians and surgeons, missionaries and explorers. It has been reserved for the close of the nineteenth century to elevate to lasting distinction those leaders of industries whose labors have benefited mankind, the scientists, inventors, engineers, architects, and men of business. This colonnade gives to creative genius equal rank and honor with the destructive talent which has ever commanded the admiration of the world.

The people of all countries have been celebrating the events for each of the last hundred years—the most remarkable era of construction and achievement. Even its wars resulted in the unification, under one government, of kindred races, the enlargement of popular liberty and marvelous material development. The ringing out of the nineteenth century was accompanied by shouting and hallelujahs over victories which had subdued the powers of the earth, the waters, and the air to the service of man, and an equally beneficent evolution in human rights. It was a happy thought which moved the donor of this Hall of Fame, in the

midst of these rejoicings, to found a temple to enshrine the memorials of the architects of this triumph; the supreme intelligences whose labors and initiative have caused the nineteenth to stand out conspicuous and unapproachable in grandeur among the centuries. It is properly built in the metropolis of the continent, the great city in which are rapidly concentrating world-wide influences. Under the protection and care of a vigorous and growing institution of liberal learning its purposes will be kept lofty and pure, and its educational value enhanced. Standing on the banks of the noble Hudson and at the gateway of the New World, it welcomes from every section of the country all worthy to sit as peers in the company of the immortals who form its first parliament. There has been the broadest catholicity of judgment and no passions or prejudices of sectarianisms, parties, or creeds among the judges. The action of the tribunal is a remarkable exhibit of the disappearance of the bitterness of the Civil War. Though a large majority of the electors were from the North, General Lee is placed beside General Grant, and Lincoln received every vote from the South save one.

The American who traces his ancestors to the British Isles and visits for the first time Westminster Abbey, experiences a singular sensation of awe and pride as he wanders through its aisles and chapels; but he is mortified and grieved to find, among the memorials of the great who have given imperishable renown to our English-speaking people, so many statues and monuments to phantom reputations of the past, who are in the present forgotten nonentities. A single act that won the popular applause of the hour has given a favorite of this fickle choice a place among the mighty. Just as the money changers and those who sold doves were driven from the sacred enclosures of the Temple at Jerusalem these marbles should be thrown out of the grand old Abbey and transplanted to the churchyards where rest the monuments of their kindred, or burned in the lime kiln of oblivion.

Such desecrations are made impossible here. The prohibition of the consideration of any one until ten years after his death removes the danger from the errors of contemporary passion or enthusiasm. The selection and number of the judges constitute a trained and impartial tribunal. The people of the United States are the nominators and one hundred divided among college presidents and educators, professors of history and scientists, publi-

cists, editors and authors, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the head of the highest court in each of the several commonwealths of the Union, are the electors. The gentlemen upon whom has devolved the first selection have found in the wide field open to their choice only twenty-nine whom a majority thought fit to fill the panels of this Hall. There may be disappointment and mortification that after three hundred years of settlement in our country, and one hundred of national life, the harvest should be so small. But our situation was unique and original. We were not a conquering people, absorbing and adopting the civilization, arts, and accumulations of a subject nation. By slow, laborious, and perilous processes the primeval forests had to be cut and the wilderness subdued for the settlement and support of the colonists. Savages and soil were inhospitable to these scattered and adventurous families seeking homes and liberty of conscience in an unknown and unexplored land across the sea. In the experiments of new forms of government and the turbulent development of free institutions there was neither thought, nor opportunity, nor time for art or literature or science, or for those battles which decide history and the fate of nations.

Counting the colonial period from the first settlement down to the Declaration of Independence, the judges have found but one immortal. Fighting Indians had not created a great soldier; the rude forms of agriculture and the hardships of the frontier bred a race of independent, vigorous, hardy, self-reliant, and supremely courageous men and women; but there was neither incentive nor audience for high intellectual effort, except in the church. The minister was both spiritual and temporal leader and guide. To the lofty ideals and high endeavors of these primitive clergymen posterity is deeply indebted. The biggest brain, the most original thinker, and the most powerful writer of the colonial time was Jonathan Edwards. He fitly and alone represents here the foundations of our original ideas, education and empire.

In the story of nations there have generally been seven hundred years from the formation of government to the golden age of letters and art. The tributes here are all, save that to Jonathan Edwards, to the genius of our first century. We can compare these names with the greatest of all time, and without boasting but upon the sure results of the most critical analysis

of the elements of fame, proudly claim a place in the front rank for our military and naval heroes; for our statesmen and jurists; for our authors and inventors; for our preachers and philanthropists. We are yet to produce the picture, the poem, the opera or oratorio worthy the great masters. For these there must be the background of centuries, mellowed by time and traditions.

If the Viking could come from his Valhalla, the Areopagite from beneath the temples at Athens, the arbiter elegantiæ from the ruins of Rome, the medieval knight from his armor, Frederick from Potsdam, or Napoleon from the Invalides, to view these our heroes, they would have only contempt for this development of democracy. The inventor of the application of steam to navigation, of the electric telegraph and of the cotton gin, the artisans who were in their time and to their world the herd or mass born to bear the burdens and work for the luxuries of their masters, are here crowned with the fadeless laurels which encircle the brows of the conquerors and rulers of the world. Eli Whitney transformed half a continent from a wilderness to one of the most productive of territories; Fulton made possible transportation by water and land, which have given to our country its prosperous population and vigorous States, and the leadership in the industrial competition of nations; and Morse added new strength to our Union by discoveries in electrical power, which, from his initiative, have enormously developed the resources of his country and given opportunity and employment to his countrymen.

The emancipation of labor has been followed by its recognition and the dignity of its function in human affairs; and now a pathway is open up the difficult ascent of Parnassus. The triumphs of industrial genius have created conditions by which millions can live in comfort and hope where thousands dwelt in poverty and despair. They have made possible the gigantic fortunes which are the wonder of our day. But the material revolution and its rich results thus emphasized have diverted the mind, culture, and ambition of ingenuous youth to paths of gain rather than fame, unless, under a new code, gain in large measure be fame. The dollar, or its eager pursuit, weighs down the wings of genius and prevents its flight to the lofty heights where congregate the Homers and Shakespeares, Miltons and Byrons, the Michael Angelos and the Raphaels and their peers. Our

time does not produce their equals. We have now no Tennysons, nor Longfellows, nor Hawthornes, nor Emersons. Perhaps it is because our Michael Angelos are planning tunnels under rivers and through mountains for the connection of vast systems of railways, and our Raphaels are devising some novel methods for the utilization of electrical power; our Shakespeares are forming gigantic combinations of corporate bodies, our Tennysons are giving rein to fancy and imagination in wild speculations in stocks, and our Hawthornes and Emersons have abandoned the communings with and revelations of the spirit and soul which lift their readers to a vision of the higher life and the joy of its inspiration, to exploit mines and factories.

When this period of evolution is over, and nations and communities have become adjusted to normal conditions, the fever and the passion of the race for quick wealth and enormous riches will be over. Then the grove, the academy, and the study will again become tenanted with philosophers, poets, historians, and interpreters of God in man. Unless this shall happen, then let the luxuries and opportunities, evanescent earthly pleasures, and the disappearance after death which come from leadership in business be the rewards of the successful; but reserve the Temple of Fame for those only whose deeds and thoughts are the inheritance, education, inspiration, and aspiration of endless generations.

A careful statistician has proved that more than one-half the famous men of letters in Europe belong to the upper and middle classes, and that all of the historians and a large majority of the writers and leaders of thought in England are of its people of leisure; while in the French Academy of Sciences, during the period from 1666 to 1870, out of ninety-two foreign associates only six were of the working class. Of the twenty-nine selected by the judges for this Hall of Fame not more than six can be said to have enjoyed the advantages of fortune. The handicap of class and privilege which it is almost impossible to overcome and is rarely surmounted, prevents any adequate representation from the working people among the leaders in government, the army, the navy, letters or art in Europe. The reverse is true in the United States.

Through the opportunities of free education in our common and high schools, the children from the home of the laborer and the cottage of the artisan are continually rising to distinction in

literature and the professions and in the control of great industrial organizations. The poverty of the peasant with its barriers and hopelessness is unknown to our civilization. The log cabin, the narrow quarters, the straitened circumstances, the daily hardships and sacrifices of comforts, which were the conditions attending the youth of nearly all our distinguished men, were not the grinding poverty of the old world. By the blaze of the fireplaces at night, brainy and ambitious boys, tired in body from the day's toil, but fresh in mind, learn the lessons of hope and careers in the lives of those living once like themselves and who were in after years honored and successful in public life, upon the bench, in the pulpit, in journalism, in libraries, in art, and several of them Presidents of the United States.

It is difficult to define fame. Reputation is often mistaken for it. The one lasts forever and grows brighter with the centuries; the other sinks into oblivion with the temporary conditions upon which it rests. Fame must not be confounded with notoriety, which may be connected with acts of eternal but infamous memory, as that of the egotist who fired the temple at Ephesus, or the fiend who killed President Garfield. Our Civil War was peculiarly distinguished for making many reputations which contemporaries believed enduring. But to-day has forgotten yesterday and treads on the heels of to-morrow, to be left behind in turn by its successors. Events of absorbing interest occupy the imagination of the present, which must be illumined by a light other than its own to help it out of the darkness, or it does not recognize the past. Homer, Demosthenes, Socrates, and Praxiteles illustrate this in Greece, and Cæsar and Horace in Rome, while in mediæval and modern Europe their names are fewer than a score.

The process of the elimination of reputations from current knowledge grows more destructive with each generation until cycles are marked by one survival. The influence of that one is felt in our patriotism, in our nation's existence and power, in our mental growth and expansion, in our incentives to thought and action, in the spark which fires our genius, or the divine touch which frees our spirit and soul from the harsh materialism of daily cares, and brings us into communion with the higher life—its aims, its associations, its victories, and its joys.

Great men and women make history, and their lives distin-

guish countries and centuries. Let the court meet here every decade and select for this Hall of Fame those whom they believe deserve most of the Republic. Let there be gathered in the museum the precious relics, statues, and memorials of the elect. The ceremony with each repetition will enlist a larger interest and closer scrutiny of worth. It will make more difficult the task of the judges, and more certain the permanence of their choice. It will cultivate the study and with it the emulation of greatness.

In the cemeteries of France graves are leased for periods of five, ten, twenty, or fifty years and in perpetuity. As the terms of the lessees expire, the bones are dug up and dumped into the common receptacle to make room for newer tenants. So in time in this Hall of Fame winnowing will attend selection. Only the tenants who by the judgment of posterity hold their titles in perpetuity will remain, and they will have fame.

Of these twenty-nine, who will be left a thousand years hence? The rail splitter who became President of the United States, emancipated the slave, saved the Union, and in a speech of ten minutes at Gettysburg set a classic in the oratory of his country which condensed the philosophy and pathos of the Civil War, will be immortal as Abraham Lincoln. There is one character here which has stood the test of time and grown brighter with the years. Washington has no predecessors, contemporaries, or successors. By the common judgment of mankind he is the noblest example of all countries and all ages of human excellence. If in our hundred and twenty-five years of national existence no other man had risen to the realms of fame, our country's contribution to the marvelous nineteenth century would be complete and supreme in George Washington.

MEMORIAL OF GOVERNOR FENTON

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE IN HONOR OF GOVERNOR
REUBEN E. FENTON, BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF
NEW YORK IN THE CAPITOL AT ALBANY, APRIL 27, 1887.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: New York has, as a rule, been remarkably fortunate in her Governors. Many of them have been statesmen of national and commanding influence. Two of them have served as Presidents and two as Vice-presidents of the United States and two others were the choice of their party for the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. Their influence upon the policy and course of government has been potential.

It is proper in this place to speak only of those who have joined the majority beyond the grave. There is no more heroic figure in Revolutionary annals than our first Governor, George Clinton. Within an hour after his inauguration he was marching to the post of duty and danger in front of the enemy. His obstinate courage, wise generalship, and great popularity did much to keep New York, full as the colony was of royalists, loyal to liberty and the Continental Congress. John Jay did more than any one save Alexander Hamilton to bind the discordant colonies into a harmonious confederacy. DeWitt Clinton, by his foresight and energy, made New York the Empire State, and her chief city the commercial metropolis of the continent. Martin Van Buren for nearly a quarter of a century was the actual ruler of the Republic, through his control and management of the dominant party, and he gave political form and substance to the anti-slavery sentiment. William L. Marcy, United States Senator and twice a Cabinet Minister, has left an indelible impress upon the history of his time. Silas Wright ranks among our ideal statesmen. He possessed the loftiest character and most signal ability. His ambitions were always subordinated to the public welfare. He could calmly lay aside the certainty of the Presidency when his duty, as he understood it, called him to serve in more hazardous but minor fields, and he was in every sense a modern Cincinnatus. The name

of William H. Seward will be among the few of his generation to survive in coming ages. He was the political philosopher of his period who alone of his contemporaries grasped the full meaning and inevitable result of the vast moral questions that agitated the country. His matchless genius for affairs, his unruffled judgment in the midst of trial and danger, kept that peace with the world without which alone enabled nationality to win its victory within. His speeches and state papers will be the exhaustless treasury from which the statesmen of the future will draw their best lessons and inspiration. Within our immediate memory the tablets upon our gubernatorial mausoleum recall the public services of John A. King, John A. Dix, Edwin D. Morgan, Horatio Seymour, Reuben E. Fenton, and Samuel J. Tilden. No other State has been governed by an equal number of men of national influence and fame. It is therefore eminently proper and wise that the Legislature should commemorate, and by imposing ceremonial perpetuate, the history and characters of its departed chief magistrates.

The one in whose honor we are here assembled worthily ranks with the best of his predecessors in office. Repeated and long-continued promotions to places of trust by popular suffrage are cumulative evidence of merit and distinction. The opportunity to rise from humble station to lofty positions is the common heritage of all, but they only successfully climb the slippery and perilous ascent, gathering fresh strength at each station for bolder efforts, who are easily the leaders of their fellows. The early settlers of western New York were a hardy and enterprising race, and their children, roughing it in log cabins, forest clearings, and frontier experiences, were by heredity and education state-builders. They created farms out of the wilderness, formed communities, and organized government. It is easier for a man of ability to get on in a new country and with fresh surroundings than in the neighborhood where he was born. Where every one has known him from childhood, he often is handicapped by the unforgotten frivolities of youth, and reaches middle life before he has outgrown the feeling that he is still a boy; while, as a new settler, he starts at once at the level of his ascertained capabilities. It is the peculiar distinction of Mr. Fenton that he overcame these prejudices before he was of age; that he became the choice of his fellow-citizens

for positions of trust as soon as he obtained his majority; and, passing his life at his birthplace, earned, at a period when most young men are unknown, the confidence of the people among whom he had grown up, and carried it with him to his grave. He saw western New York expand from the forest into one of the most beautiful, highly cultivated, and richest sections of the State, teeming with an intelligent and prosperous population, which had founded cities, formed villages, erected schools, endowed colleges, and planted by every stream flourishing manufacturing; and he remained throughout all this growth and until his death the foremost and most distinguished citizen. He was seven times supervisor of his town, and three times chairman of the County Board, for five terms a member of Congress, twice Governor of this great State, United States Senator, and the choice of New York for Vice-president in the convention which first nominated General Grant.

This proud career was not helped by accident, or luck, or wealth, or family, or powerful friends. He was, in its best sense, both the architect and builder of his own fortunes. When a lad of seventeen his father failed in business, and the boy dropped his studies and professional aspirations to support the family and retrieve its credit. Self-reliant but prudent, courageous but cautious, his audacity subject to reason, he quickly measured his powers and then boldly struck out for himself. He traversed the virgin forests, selecting with unerring judgment the most productive tracts, and for years following his life was spent in logging camps and in piloting his rafts down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. The adventures, exposure, and perils of the work gave him an iron constitution and knowledge of men, and developed his rare capacity for business. An omnivorous and intelligent reader, he became, by the light of blazing fires in the forest and pine knots in the cabin on the rafts, well educated and widely informed. At thirty-one he had paid his father's debts and secured a comfortable competence for himself. Then came the inevitable internal struggle with himself of the man who has early in life achieved an independence. He feels his strength, the ardor and fire of vigorous manhood enlarge his vision, and he sees no limits to his ambitions. The divergent roads to untold wealth on the one side, or honors and fame on the other, are before him, and to lead the crowd his

best energies will be required for whichever path he selects. Mr. Fenton determined to devote his future to the public service, and henceforward his life became identified with the history of his times.

He had always been a Democrat, but the great question which was to destroy the Whig and divide the Democratic Party, met him at the outset of his congressional career. Stephen A. Douglas had introduced into the bill organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska a section repealing that portion of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which forever prohibited slavery in the new territories lying north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. In a moment the whole country was aflame. The slumbering conscience of the nation awoke with an energy which rocked pulpits and revolutionized colleges. The oration, the tract, and the madly exciting novel were potent forces in the storm. The young Congressman must choose, and at once, between his convictions and the caucus. He did not hesitate. He was never afraid of his beliefs, and faith and courage with him always stood together. His maiden speech was for the inviolable preservation of the boundaries so solemnly set by a former generation to the encroachments of slavery. It was the first speech made from either side in the House of Representatives against the pending crime; it was made by a member of the party then dominant in the Government; and its clear notes of independence and defiance rallied about him a determined band of young Democratic representatives. From that day he was one of the leaders in the formation, and afterward in the conduct, of the Republican Party. When Mr. Seward announced the death of the Whig, and christened the young party Republican; and when at its first State Convention there fraternized under that name old Whigs and Democrats, Barnburners of '48, Free Soilers, and Liberty Party men of the days of martyrdom, Reuben E. Fenton was unanimously elected their presiding officer.

It is difficult now to realize the duties and responsibilities of a member of Congress during the Civil War. He was investigating estimates and making appropriations of such appalling magnitude, that he had no precedents to guide him and no standards for comparison. Amidst the tension and strain of great battles, of victories and defeats, of the result oft-times in doubt,

and the Capitol itself frequently in peril, he was uprooting by legislation wrongs and abuses which had been embedded in the constitutions, the laws, the decisions of the courts, as well as the approving judgment of the people, since the formation of the Government, and preparing for the reconstruction of a new upon the ruins of the old Republic. Fundamental principles of human rights were pressing for immediate and final settlement, while the carnage, slaughter, and suffering without, and the financial and administrative perils within, the Capitol were unparalleled in the experience of nations. But, widely known and with a sympathetic heart, he was counselor, friend, and brother, for the mother searching for her dead, for wives looking for loved ones left wounded upon the field, for parents seeking furloughs for their boys in the hospital, that they might carry them home and tenderly nurse them back to life and health; and by the soldier's bedside he gave relief, encouragement, and strength, or received the dying message and the last embrace to be faithfully borne to mourning and broken households in the peaceful valleys of the distant North. There were many men in Congress of commanding eloquence and great power in debate, who received general attention and applause; but Mr. Fenton did not excel in either of these more attractive fields. He was a man of affairs—one of those clear-headed, constructive and able business managers, whose persistent industry, comprehensive grasp of details, and power to marshal them for practical results, made him invaluable in committee, where legislation is perfected and all important measures are prepared. The people rarely know the debt they owe to the careful, plodding, alert members, who, ceaselessly working in committee-rooms, with no reporters to herald their achievements and no place in the *Congressional Record* for their work, detect frauds and strangle jobs; mold crudities into laws, and develop the hidden meaning and deep-laid schemes of skilful and deceptive amendments; ascertain the needs of government, and devise the statutes for meeting them. They are the reliance of the Cabinet minister, and the safety of parliamentary government. There are always three classes of Congressmen: the leaders who organize the forces of administration or opposition, and by speeches profound or magnetic give opinions to their party and educate the country to its views; the able and conscientious committeeman and watchful member; and the

drones whose public usefulness is lost between yawns and naps. Mr. Fenton was an ideal representative of the second type, with some of the qualities of the first. He mastered his subject so thoroughly, and understood so well the causes and effects of pending issues, that his calm and lucid statements made him, upon the floor, a strong ally and a dangerous enemy. His speeches upon pensions, internal improvements, the regulation of emigration, the payment of bounties, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the financial measures for carrying on the war, and funding the national debt, attest the extent of his acquirements and the wisdom of his views.

But his distinction during this period was that he came to be pre-eminently recognized as the "Soldiers' Friend." The bill to facilitate the granting of furloughs and discharges to disabled soldiers; the bill to facilitate the payment of bounties and arrears of pay due wounded and deceased soldiers; and bills granting pensions, and those making the application for them easy and inexpensive, were among the results of his patriotic and thoughtful interest. He kept lonely vigils by the hospital cots at night, and by day was ceaselessly and tirelessly tramping from the War and Navy Departments to the Executive Mansion. The New York Soldiers' Aid Society, in recognition of his eminent fitness and meritorious services, elected him its president, and the beneficent work of that Society is recorded in grateful hearts and registered by happy firesides all over our State. When, as Governor, he welcomed home the returning regiments of the disbanded army, the formal words of his official proclamation spoke the sentiments which had guided his actions. "Soldiers," said he, "your State thanks you and gives you pledge of her lasting gratitude. You have elevated her dignity, brightened her renown, and enriched her history. The people will regard with jealous pride your welfare and honor, not forgetting the widow, the fatherless, and those who were dependent upon the fallen hero."

The presidential canvass of 1864 was one of the most interesting in our history. The radical element in the Republican Party had nominated a ticket after denouncing President Lincoln because he was too slow and conservative. Governor Horatio Seymour, while voicing the thought of the Democratic National Convention, as its Chairman, in one of the most able

and masterly of speeches, had declared that Mr. Lincoln's administration had been a series of costly and bloody mistakes, that under his guidance the war had been, and would continue to be, a failure. To carry New York Mr. Seymour accepted a renomination for Governor, and entered upon the canvass with his accustomed vigor and eloquence. Whether we differ from, or sustain, his political opinions, we must all admit that Horatio Seymour was one of the most brilliant and attractive of our New York statesmen. The purity of his life, his unblemished character, his commanding presence, and his magnetism upon the platform, made him the idol of his party and the most dangerous of opponents. It was vital to Mr. Lincoln and his administration, and to Mr. Seward, the Chief of his Cabinet, that New York should sustain them, and repel these charges. To meet this emergency, and conduct this campaign, Reuben E. Fenton was nominated by the Republican Convention for Governor. The wisdom of the choice was speedily apparent. Mr. Fenton's unequaled abilities as an organizer were felt in every school district in the commonwealth, and when the returns showed the State carried for Lincoln, and Fenton leading by some thousands the presidential vote, the new Governor became a figure of national importance. Within four days after his inauguration he raised the last quota of troops called for from New York with this stirring appeal: "Having resolutely determined to go thus far in the struggle, we shall not falter nor hesitate when the rebellion reels under our heavy blows, when victory, upon all the methods of human calculation, is so near. Believing ourselves to be inspired by the same lofty sentiments of patriotism which animated our fathers in founding our free institutions, let us continue to imitate their example of courage, endurance, and faithfulness to principle in maintaining them. Let us be faithful and persevere. Let there be a rally of the people in every city, village, and town."

A few months afterward the happy lot and unique distinction came to him, following the surrender at Appomattox, of being among the immortals who will always live as the War Governors of our civil strife, who in Thanksgiving proclamations returned to Almighty God the devout acknowledgments of a grateful people for the end of war and bloodshed, and the victory of unity and nationality. That he carried the State for his party

at each recurring annual election during his two terms as Governor proves the popularity of his administration and his skill as an organizer. By temperament and training he was admirably fitted for executive position. No one ever understood better the peculiarities and surroundings of men. He was apparently the most amiable and conciliatory of public officers, but never yielded an essential point. He possessed in an eminent degree the rare faculty of satisfying applicants and petitioners without gratifying them. The immense State and local indebtedness following the war, the wild speculations incident to an unstable currency, and the perilous condition of public and private credit, he thoroughly understood, and with great sagacity and judgment devoted his powers to removing the dangers and preparing for the storm. He gave the State what it most needed after the drain and demoralization of the Civil War—a wise business government. So profoundly impressed with the strength of his administration was the Convention which met at Syracuse in 1868 to send delegates to the National Convention at Chicago, that it unanimously and enthusiastically instructed the delegates to present his name for Vice-president, and for five ballots in that memorable contest he was second on the poll.

Senator Morgan realized, when it was too late either to gracefully retire or to avert defeat, that the power which Thurlow Weed had held for thirty years, and upon which he relied, had passed away, and the Governor had become the master of the party forces in the State. Governor Fenton became easily the choice of the Legislature as Mr. Morgan's successor, and entered the Senate at a period when measures were pending which he thoroughly understood, and in their solution could render most valuable and enduring service. The bent of his mind was toward financial and business subjects, and the debt, taxation, the currency, banking, and revenue were the pressing problems of the hour. No measures since the adoption of the Constitution have had such permanent and beneficial influence upon the growth and prosperity of the country as the acts relating to finance from 1869 to 1875. The national credit was impaired, the interest upon the debt was exorbitant and threatened the gravest complications, and fiat money induced the wildest speculation, followed by its natural sequence, general bank-

ruptcy and business suspension. With rare courage and wisdom Congress declared that all the obligations of the Government should be paid in gold. Instantly the shattered credit of the Republic was restored, and its securities advanced in all the markets of the world. Taking advantage of this good name and reputation, bills were passed funding the debt at a rate of interest so much reduced that a burden of over fifty millions of dollars a year was lifted from the taxpayers. Commerce, manufactures, and all industries soon responded to this great relief, and the stability and healthy expansion of the vast business of the country were assured. But steady and reputable occupations, and the inauguration and completion of the enterprises which were in the years to come to develop our exhaustless resources in such a rapid and limitless way, were impossible with a fluctuating and uncertain currency. The full fruition of this grandest scheme of finance of modern times came with the resumption of specie payment. That the losses and destruction of the Civil War have been regained, repaired, and forgotten; that the Republic is many-fold richer in every element of wealth, prosperity, and promises for the future, is due to the wise foresight which prepared and perfected this harmonious and interdependent system. While Senator Fenton did his full share and occupied an honorable place in this grand and statesmanlike work, he originated and promoted with all his ability, thoroughness, and persistence, the abolition of the moiety methods of collecting revenue. The evils had long been apparent, but no one had the boldness to attack them. They originated when the young Republic was too poor to pay adequate salaries, and continued until the enormous receipts at the customs gave to the revenue officers a fortune each year, and retired them with large wealth. They were intrenched in the cupidity of incumbents and the hopeful dreams of aspirants. Those in possession, and those who expected to be, in the ever varying tides of political fortunes, were alike hostile to a change. The system was fecund in spies, informers, and perjurers, and merchants were at the mercy of legalized blackmail. The final triumph of this beneficent reform will be remembered to his lasting honor.

No record of Governor Fenton's life would be complete which failed to give the facts of his separating from his party for one campaign, and no memorial honest which ignored its

discussion. He supported the Republican candidates with all his might from the formation of the party till his death, with the single exception of his vote for Mr. Greeley; before this event, he brought into the canvass all the forces of the organization then under his control, and after it returned again within the regular lines, giving his whole time and influence for the success in each succeeding canvass of Hayes, of Garfield, and of Blaine. No organization was either large enough or elastic enough to hold in harmonious relations and views two such opposite, original, and positive men as General Grant and Horace Greeley. All conditions in the beginning conspired to urge Greeley to independent action, as in the latter part of his canvass they united for his defeat. The rise of his tidal wave until a vast majority of the voters were apparently drawn into the current, and then its sudden collapse, followed immediately by his sleepless watching for weeks by the bedside of his dying wife, brain fever, delirium, and death, form one of the most dramatic episodes and romantic tragedies in American politics. Mr. Greeley delighted in polemical controversy, but he hated war. For more than a quarter of a century this strong thinker and master of the most vigorous English had furnished opinions to, and done the thinking for, great numbers of his fellow-citizens. In the anti-slavery movement, in the struggle for temperance legislation, in all moral reforms, he was the most potent factor of his generation. Shocked and outraged beyond restraint when the first shot was fired at the flag, he demanded that the rebel soil be plowed with cannon-balls and sown with salt, and his clarion notes rang through the land like a trumpet blast calling all loyal men to arms. But when he thought he saw a prospect of peace with slavery abolished, he recoiled appalled from further bloodshed, and cried halt.

Unlike most strong natures he harbored no resentments and was incapable of revenge. When the rebellion was crushed, he went upon the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis as a protest against death-penalties and confiscations, and in the hope of amnesty, reconciliation, and brotherly reunion upon the basis won by our victory in the war. He so impressed and imbued Abraham Lincoln with his views that only the assassination of the President prevented their public announcement. He had been a devoted follower and passionate lover of Henry Clay, and three times

had seen him set aside for the availability of military popularity. While most cordially conceding to General Grant his position as the foremost captain of his time, Mr. Greeley mistrusted his administrative ability in civil affairs, feared the result of his inexperience, and intensely disliked his advisers. To President Grant, on the other hand, the great editor seemed something more, and little less, than an inspired crank. After the unfortunate results of some of the temporary and tentative State administrations in the South, Mr. Greeley conceived the idea that if the late rebels and slaveholders could be induced, in return for the full restoration of their State governments and universal amnesty, to accept the amendments to the Constitution, the freedom and citizenship of the slave, the inviolability of the debt, and all the results of the war, with hearty loyalty to the flag waving over a Republic reconstructed on these conditions; and as hostage for their faith would take as their candidate for President a lifelong abolitionist and Republican; the problem of reconstruction and peace would be solved at once. Responding to this idea the world beheld the amazing spectacle of these people in convention assembled solemnly declaring that the obligations of the Republic to the abolition of slavery, to the civil and political rights of the freedmen, to the honest payment of the national debt, to the repudiation of rebel loans, and to pensions to Union soldiers, were unalterable and sacred, and then nominating for President one who had said more harsh and bitter things, and through his writings and speeches done more effective work for the overthrow of all their principles and traditions than any man living or dead. That the South, without giving the evidences of repentance then promised, has been granted and now enjoys even more than Mr. Greeley proposed is the answer of the succeeding political generation to the fierce assaults made at the time upon his theory and anticipations. That a large majority of his party associates were converted to his hopeful view at first, and many followed him to the end, was natural, when the movement was inspired and led by so masterful and commanding an intellect, which had braved defeat and death for the rights of men, and been always the first of the forlorn hope of liberty and reform, in the assault upon the most impregnable positions of wrong, immorality, and oppression for over a quarter of a century. That he was defeated and General Grant elected, the

backward view over the events since 1872, which is not difficult for most men to safely and correctly take, proves to have been a wise and fortunate result. He was killed by his defeat. I stood near as the clouds began to gather in that mighty and active brain. He thought that a life unselfishly given to mankind would be judged a failure by posterity, and that the fame which he had hoped would rest upon the praise and the gratitude of the humble and oppressed was already permanently injured by the prejudices and distrust aroused in them by the calumnies of the canvass. Though his controversies filled the land, this great fighter for the truth as he understood it was the most morbidly sensitive of mortals, and, weakened by the sleepless strain of the struggle and his domestic affliction, reason and life succumbed to ridicule and misrepresentation. We have seen death in many forms, and for most of us it has lost its terrors, but to witness a great mind suddenly break and go out in helpless and hopeless darkness was the saddest scene I ever saw, and its memory is as of the most painful of tragedies.

Horace Greeley was the last of that famous triumvirate of editors, Greeley, Bennett, and Raymond, whose genius and individuality subordinated the functions of a great newspaper to the presentation of their opinions and characteristics. Their journals were personal organs, but of phenomenal influence. The vigor of Mr. Greeley's thought and the lucidity of its expression carried conviction to the minds of hundreds of thousands of people, and made him for nearly a quarter of a century the greatest individual force in the country. He was so honest and terrifically in earnest, so right in his motives and pure in his principles, that, like the spots upon the sun, his mistakes made more evident the loftiness of his purposes. His motives were so transparent that his errors and eccentricities increased his strength, and even when wrong he inspired more confidence than is reposed in most men when right. He made and unmade more reputations than any other writer in the land. His untimely death hushed all hearts. President and Cabinet, generals and soldiers, Governors and Congressmen, friends and foes, the mighty and the humble, gathered at his bier, and the nation mourned as never before for the loss of a citizen in private station.

Mr. Fenton had acted with Mr. Greeley since the formation

of the Republican Party. They had been the closest of personal and political friends. They consulted freely and often on all questions, and continued in the fullest accord on party measures and policies. After the dissolution of the famous partnership of Seward, Weed, and Greeley, Fenton cast his fortunes with the junior member of the firm. His faith in Greeley, and constant contact with his aspirations and views, led to his full agreement with the opinions, while his fidelity led to his giving a cordial support to the ambitions, of his friend.

After retiring from the Senate, Governor Fenton continued active and deeply interested in the success of his party, but was never again a candidate for office. President Hayes sent him abroad in 1878 as chairman of the commission to the International Monetary Convention to fix the ratio of value between gold and silver, and provide for their common use. But his health had become impaired by the strain of a busy and stormy life, and continued precarious until his sudden death while sitting at his office desk. The Governor and State officers, and a multitude of people representing the affection and respect of a large constituency, gave additional significance and solemnity to the last tributes to his memory.

Reuben E. Fenton was remarkable for the full rounded character of his mind and disposition. No matter how fiercely the storm raged about him, he was always serene and unmoved. Though it was his fortunes which were at stake, he was the calmest of the combatants. He was the most affable and approachable of men, and yet until he acted none knew either his plans or his views. He listened courteously to every one, but what he heard rarely changed his deliberate judgment. In the heat of the contest, when upon his decision or signature depended results of the greatest importance to powerful and persistent applicants, his manner of receiving them led to angry charges that he had conveyed false impressions or been guilty of bad faith, but no proof was ever submitted, and it came to be admitted that he was under the most tantalizing and exasperating conditions always a gentleman. He was faultless in dress and manners, whether in the executive chamber, upon the platform, or in the crowd, but this scrupulous exactness seemed to enhance his popularity. He loved to mingle freely with the people, but he received the like kindly greeting and cordial confidence from work-

ingmen fresh from the forge or merchants in their parlors or counting-rooms. When the history of our State comes to be impartially written, Mr. Fenton will be given rank as its best political organizer after Martin Van Buren. But he possessed a magnetism which Van Buren never had. A most tender, gentle, and affectionate nature shone brightly for his friends through the crust of the mannerisms of office and policy. I have met all the public men of my time under circumstances sufficiently close to afford some insight into the secrets of their power, and he was one of the very few who had an eloquent presence. His touch and look conveyed, if he pleased, such a world of interest and regard, that the recipient, without knowing why, felt honored by his confidence and encircled by his friendship. It was this which made it impossible to crush him after repeated defeats. When he was under the ban of power; when to act with him was to accept ostracism; when the office-holder was sure to lose his place and the ambitious found all avenues barred if they followed his lead, he came year after year to the annual Convention of his party with such a solid, numerous, and aggressive host that it required all the resources of unsurpassed eloquence, political sagacity, and the lavish prizes of patronage to prevent his carrying off the victory. The character and deeds which redound to his honor and will perpetuate his memory are sources of just pride to his State and of lasting pleasure to his friends. He was a representative of the people when the most vital questions affecting the welfare of the human race on this continent were at issue and the Republic in the agonies of dissolution, and acted well the part of philanthropist, patriot, and statesman. He was twice Governor of this State, at a most critical period in its history, wielding the powers of the executive with wisdom and courage; and as the leader of the dominant party in the commonwealth, exercising a potent, but broad and healthful, influence in the affairs of the nation. He was United States Senator during the fruitful period of the reconstruction of the Government, and left enduring monuments of his fidelity and ability as one of the architects of the new era. As Congressman, Governor, Senator, there is no stain upon his record, and his public life stands pure and unassailed.

The controversies which occupied so large a part of his life are over; the causes which produced them have ceased to exist;

and the friends and foes of that period can fight over the old battles without rancor or passion. The ever dissolving and reuniting fragments of political forces wear off by friction enmities and jealousies, and by the recognition of merits before unknown in our opponents we are all brought into more harmonious and respecting relations. We can all stand beside the grave of Reuben E. Fenton, and forgetting, for the moment, our divisions and contentions, mourn the loss of one who in his day and generation acted so well his part as private citizen and public officer, that the commonwealth and the country were enriched by his example, his character, and his work.

STATUE OF GENERAL LOGAN

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF GENERAL JOHN
A. LOGAN, AT WASHINGTON, APRIL 9, 1901.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The history of our country is condensed in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. The first was the creation of a nation which embodied the evolution and aspirations of the English colonists from 1620 to 1776 in the experiment of self-government. The second was the triumphant solution on the side of liberty and humanity, by the most gigantic and bloody of modern conflicts, of the problems which the founders of our Government had left for posterity. Since then there has been no restraint upon American development and no barrier to American progress. The story of the Revolution and the Rebellion will be read by future generations, not in the narration of their causes or incidents, but mainly in the lives of the master minds who participated in those struggles. We now read the Revolution in the careers and achievements of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Samuel and John Adams and their compatriots. Our marvelous material development and the pace at which we have advanced in every department of national activity since 1865 make the great civil strife seem as distant almost as the classic tales of our student days. As Washington stands out in the first of our crucial contests, so does Lincoln in the second. About Lincoln cluster Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, McPherson, and a host of other heroes.

The "typical American" has long been the subject of discussion and portraiture. In caricature, in picture, and upon the stage our national characteristics are represented by "Brother Jonathan," who is sharp, keen, aggressive and fearless, but who exhibits no trait of that culture, sensitive honor, and lofty morality which mark a noble and successful people. We do not, therefore, find the "typical American" in the sketch of the artist or upon the dramatic stage. The professional or business man who has been successful in his pursuit; the one who, with the great opportunities offered in the United States and by the ex-

ercise of rare gifts, has accumulated a phenomenal fortune; or the distinguished soldier or sailor who has come from the severe training of West Point or Annapolis, is not peculiar to our country. He exists under all governments and accomplishes the same career under all institutions. American liberty and law, which grant to all equal opportunities, which neither foster nor favor, nor permit class or privilege, cultivate a kaleidoscopic activity which is possible alone with us. It develops an American who passes easily and naturally to and from private pursuits and public life, is ready and forceful upon the platform or in halls of legislation, is facile with his pen, and keen upon all questions of current interest, and with that leisure which comes only to the very busy, finds rest and recreation in travel, fraternal organizations, and society. He early in life becomes a member of the military company of his town or the national guard of his state, and locks his office or leaves the shop to march with his command to the field of duty and of danger. If he survives the perils of battle and dangers of disease, he practically beats his sword into a ploughshare and his spear into a pruning hook by exchanging the uniform of the soldier for the dress of the citizen, and quietly resuming the peaceful paths of the industry he abandoned to fight for his country. The Grand Army of the Republic has upon its rolls numerous examples, living and dead, of heroes in war who were also successes in the professions or business, orators of rare merit and statesmen of unique distinction. Such a man—a typical American—is the soldier, statesman, and patriot for the unveiling of whose statue, erected by a grateful country, we are here assembled.

It is a popular delusion that the fiber of American character is best wrought and exhibited in those who have been deficient in early opportunities for education; whose struggles have been harder than their fellows' and who have passed their youth either in or upon the borders of the western wilderness. It was found in the Civil War that there was no difference in courage, dash or endurance between the men of the East, the West, the North, or the South, between those who came from the fields, the forests, the mines, or the factories, and those who stepped out from the pulpit, the lawyer's office, the counting house, the professor's chair, or the pedagogue's seat. In that most illustrative body of American manhood, the Rough Rider regiment of the

Spanish War, the dandy from the club, the student from the university, and the cowboy from the plains, in the stress of battle, in the deadly charge and under the hail of bullets, found that under fire and following the flag they were equal and equally good Americans.

In the crises of our fate as a nation God seems to have raised up and prepared men specially for the accomplishment of the wonderful purposes which He had in store for the Republic. But these wonderful intelligences, ready for great occasions and the accomplishment of historic deeds, are inactive and undistinguished in communities like ours until their country calls them to duty.

The Mexican War fired the imagination of the adventurous youth of our land. It carried young Logan, with a musket, as a private in the ranks of his company, across the Rio Grande, and he won his shoulder straps in the bloody battles under Generals Taylor and Scott. The baptism of fire opened the mind, enlarged the horizon, and pointed out a larger future than ever dreamed of for himself and for his country to this enthusiastic lad.

A most difficult thing for anyone is to escape from his surroundings of neighborhood, traditions, provincialisms and family. It is a more serious task, if a born leader has discovered the errors of opinion of himself and his neighbors, to attempt to remain their leader by converting them to his new-born ideas. There was no more unpromising section of the United States in which to rear a Union man and a Federal soldier than the Egypt of Illinois. It had been settled by slaveholders and the sons of slaveholders, and its people, from blood relationship, sympathy and association, were in thorough accord with the slaveholding States from which they had come. Young Logan became their idol, and he was their representative in Congress. The nearly unanimous vote by which he was sent to Washington illustrated the closeness and confidence between himself and this constituency. He was a tower of strength for the reactionary views and purposes of the slavery leaders in Congress, but underneath the sentiment and principles of the party to which he was devoted there brightly burned a spirit of liberty.

Slavery was intolerant of opposition and discussion. Lovejoy, of Illinois, Logan's fellow-member, was one of the bravest

and ablest of the anti-slavery champions. When he rose to speak in the House of Representatives an enraged mob of members crowded about him that not only prevented his being heard, but threatened his life. It was this incident that opened the eyes of Logan to the great truth, subsequently expressed by Lincoln, that the Union could never endure half free and half slave. He instantly stepped upon the side of liberty, and so imperiously demanded a recognition of the rights of his colleague upon the floor of the House that his turbulent associates went back to their seats, and free speech was vindicated.

When hostilities began, a weaker man than Logan would have sided with his constituents in their sympathy with the South. Had he been with them, an insurrection in southern Illinois, barring the way of the Union army to Kentucky and Tennessee, would have been a frightful blow to the success of the national cause. It was a conflict in which on the one side he would apparently lose his home and his political future to enlist in a cause which, in that hour and atmosphere, seemed well nigh hopeless, while on the other, in addition to the hardships and perils of war, would be ceaseless dangers from enemies both in front and rear.

The stirring news came to the House while in session that the battle of Bull Run was in progress. The soldier of the Mexican War again heard the music of the national anthem and flew to the defense of the national flag. The dramatic scene was witnessed upon the battle field of a civilian in frock coat and top silk hat, who had seized a musket from a wounded soldier, and by action and words and reckless daring was doing his best to stem the tide of defeat and turn the army back to meet the enemy. In that hour Logan's vision clearly saw the path of duty. He hastened home to his constituents to bring them around to the Union cause and to have them enlist in the Union army. He met sullen and threatening mobs everywhere. But nothing could resist the fervor of his eloquence, the inspiration of his presence, and his cry, "Follow me to the field for the old flag and the Union. It is no longer the right and wrong of slavery; it is no longer the disputed question of the extension of that institution into the territories, but it is whether you will be with me for the preservation of the Union and of this last refuge and security of liberty and humanity." Character, courage, and patriotism triumphed. He led his whole people out of the dark-

ness of Egypt into the light of the promised land. Within a few weeks he was in the field with his regiment, and other regiments followed as often as the Government called for volunteers.

Logan is the finest example of the volunteer soldier. Around the nucleus of a little army of twenty-five thousand regulars gathered a million of volunteers who formed in an incredibly brief time the most magnificent and resistless body of soldiery of modern or ancient times. They demonstrated, in the quickness with which the army was mobilized and disciplined, in the steadiness and endurance which it exhibited as if trained veterans, and in its peaceful disbandment and return to the pursuits of peace after the close of the war, that the strength and reliance of our country rest upon its citizen soldiery. This experiment also demonstrated that while the citizen soldiers are engaged in gainful pursuits and increasing the wealth of the country, an adequate army composed of those who select a soldier's career can protect the public property, suppress insurrection, and meet immediate and exigent requirements at home or abroad, and that we need have no apprehension of militarism or of Cæsarism. The regular army is but the pickets and the skirmishers of that vast host who, from the mountains and valleys, from plains and cities, from hamlets and towns, are ready to respond to the call to arms for the protection of their liberties from attacks within or the defense of their country from foreign assault.

Logan's brilliant career emphasizes the necessity for a military education. In arms, as in art, in the professions and the industries, the severest training and the best education are the requisites for success in our day of terrific competition. We will not dispute Logan's claim, carried too far in his enthusiasm, of the distinction of the natural soldier; but great as were the merits and the success of our general, if his genius had been trained, broadened, and strengthened by the drill and discipline of the academy, the fort and the field, he would have stood in the front rank of the commanders of great armies of modern times.

The magnanimity and generosity of this thunderbolt of war were as marked as was his courage. When Grant became impatient with General Thomas because he lingered at Nashville instead of moving upon the enemy, he sent Logan to supersede him. When Logan arrived at Cincinnati he learned that Thomas

had started. He knew that he could reach Thomas's army before a battle, and that he had before him that greatest temptation and opportunity for a soldier—a significant and decisive victory. But he knew Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga." He knew that Thomas had made the preparations with such care that failure was impossible. He knew that the honors were due to the organizer of the prospective triumph, and he delayed plucking the laurels that were within his grasp, that they might adorn the brow of Thomas. So again in the bloody battle of Atlanta. McPherson fell at the beginning of the fight. He was the idol of the army, and one of the most brilliant, accomplished, and promising officers of the war on either side. The command devolved from the West Pointer to the volunteer. It is the testimony of Grant, Sherman, Howard, and of all of his superior officers and contemporaries that in no conflict of the war were the troops more ably and skilfully handled than by Logan. Not only was he the directing genius, planning and ordering the execution of the complex details of a widely extended field, but at the critical points this ideal soldier, upon his black charger, with flowing raven hair and flashing eyes, the incarnation of battle, was rallying the routed troops and leading them again to attack and to victory. Sherman distrusted officers who had not been educated to arms, and so when it was the unanimous opinion of the army that Logan had won the command of the Army of the Tennessee, which was the ambition of his career, he was sent back to his corps and another was given the commission. While other officers under such circumstances frequently sulked in their tents or resigned, Logan, without a word or a murmur, assumed his old place and went on fighting until there was no opposition, but a general demand that he should lead the Army of the Tennessee.

The most gratifying tribute to himself and the best expression of the opinion of the volunteer army in regard to him was his election as the first commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the election repeated as often as he would accept the place. Long after all but the leaders of the civil strife on either side are forgotten, Logan's memory will remain green because of the beautiful memorial service which he originated and which now in every part of our re-united land sets aside one day in the year as a national holiday in order that the graves of

the gallant dead, both Federal and Confederate, may be decorated with flowers. It is no longer confined to the soldiers of the Civil War, but continued to those of our latest struggle. The ceremony will exist and be actively participated in while posterity remains proud of heroic ancestors and of their achievements, and our country venerates the patriotism and the courage of those who died for its preservation or its honor.

But our typical American had only begun his kaleidoscopic career when the war closed. Like his companions in arms, he returned to civil pursuits. Illinois, seconding the voice of the people everywhere, demanded that he surrender his private affairs to the call of duty and give to the country his ripe experience in the critical measures of reconstruction and pacification. The dashing soldier became the acute parliamentarian, the vigorous debater, and the constructive statesman. The fierce passions of the Civil War and the vindictiveness of the irreconcilables made the way difficult for the legislation which has happily made our country one. In the titanic debates of the giants of those days there was no more conspicuous figure and no more absolutely unselfish legislator than Logan. His nature was so intense that he could not help being a partisan, but the kind of a partisan whom his worst enemies most highly respected. He foresaw in 1870 the necessity of that work for the Cuban people by the United States which was done in 1898. He stood for the national credit, the honest payment of the national debt, and the redemption at every sacrifice of the national honor at a period when we were rushing headlong into repudiation and fiat money. He courageously took up the problem of the negro, that most difficult of the questions which are still before us. There has been in the thirty years since he preached no suggestion better than the one which he advanced, which was, "educate, educate, educate."

This typical American who was a good lawyer, a great soldier, a constructive statesman, and a magnetic orator, gave diversion to his restless activity by labors with the pen. In the intervals of his work in Congress and responses to calls for speeches at public meetings and the drudgery of a vast correspondence he found time to prepare two large volumes, one historical and the other critical, which are of much value and merit.

Happily for the youth of our country, we are peculiarly rich

in these exemplars of American liberty and opportunity. With the extension of our boundaries, our productiveness, our industrial enterprises and our educational institutions, the old avenues are kept open and newer and broader ones are builded for present and future generations.

In every community in our land the leaders of public opinion and the dwellers in the homes of prosperity have come from the ranks. Among those successful Americans in many lines, who have won and held the public eye and died mourned by all their countrymen, there will live in the future in the history of the Republic no nobler figure, in peace and in war, in the pursuits of the citizen and in work for the welfare of his fellow-citizens, than General John A. Logan.

MEMORIAL OF JOHN JAY

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICES IN HONOR OF JOHN JAY¹
NOVEMBER 20, 1894.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There are two methods of estimating the character and qualities as a man of a distinguished public personage, one from intimate friendship and association, the other from his public record.

As a Westchester County man with my own family traditions running back to its first settlement, I have very strongly the county feeling of pride and interest in its distinguished citizens. Foremost among these have been for more than a hundred years the representatives of the Jay family, beginning with the Chief Justice of the United States and continuing down to the later John Jay. Westchester County associations brought me early in life in intimate personal contact with Mr. Jay, though on account of the difference in years I could not have that close friendship possible only in early manhood, but I was fortunate enough to possess for nearly a quarter of a century his cordial acquaintance. From this contact, as well as the story of his life, I make up my estimate of the man. He was a fine example of the influences of heredity. We count too little the force of this in the lives and the achievements of distinguished men. We recognize in nations how far heredity has changed the course of history and the destinies of empires. It would be interesting to trace studiously in the positions, the opinions and the acts of statesmen and private citizens who have powerfully influenced the movement of their times, the ancestry from which they came and the impressions made upon it in bygone centuries. John Jay was a Huguenot. His ancestors had been exiled from France at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The tragic results of that famous act have burned in the soul and followed the blood of the Huguenot down the generations. Its horrors

¹John Jay (1817-1894), eminent lawyer and diplomat, was the grandson of the first Chief-Justice of the United States. A graduate of Columbia in 1836, he was admitted to the Bar in 1839. He was active in the Free Soil Party and was identified with the foundation of the Republican Party. In 1869-75 he was Minister to Austria-Hungary.—Ed.

and sufferings and the incalculable injury it did to France, indelibly impressed the lesson of religious toleration. This has evolved in our century into undying faith in the beneficent principles of civil and religious liberty. The Huguenots, carrying their pathetic story all over the world, were for a generation a people without a country. They could not return to their own land, they could not call upon any government as its citizens. They were taught by dire experience the lesson of liberty, now so universally recognized as to be the commonplace of our language and literature. It was the Huguenot strain and its unconscious influence which inspired Chief Justice Jay, in his articles in the *Federalist* and in his work on the Constitution of the United States and on the Constitution of the State of New York, to secure an expression in the fundamental law of religious liberty. I noticed in Mr. Jay, in the later years of his life, a singular premonition that this principle might be in danger and must be perpetually guarded. Any act introduced into the Legislature, any movement upon the common schools which seemed to commit the State in any way to any sect, found in him at once an alert and vigorous alarmist. It is easy, as we know his past and that of his ancestors, to understand why it was that Mr. Jay braved social ostracism and the business boycott of his time by becoming an Abolitionist. The principles he had inherited and the faith in which he had been trained made the holding of human beings in bondage a crime and slavery a sin.

One of the greatest marvels of this century is the succession of revolutions following so fast upon each other that the same generation lives through one and enters upon the second, to find the situation so changed and the condition so different that the deadly animosities of the first are forgotten. Even those who are of sufficient age to remember can scarcely recall the strength and bitterness of the almost universal feeling against Abolitionists forty years ago. The Church, the State, society, finance, the universities, and business were wedded to the system of slavery. The different denominations feared a disruption between the North and the South, politicians feared a dissolution of the Union, manufacturers and merchants feared a loss of the Southern trade, society, which always follows and upholds the popular side, was almost unanimous with these controlling forces of the Republic and had nearly constituted the slaveholding

oligarchy an American nobility and extended to it the homage and deference belonging to a superior class. John Jay, a young lawyer, with limited means, lost the fruits of his profession, with the brilliant opportunities that came from his high family and social position, lost the gratification of his ambition and the rewards of political distinction for which he had unusual opportunities, and risked his inherited social position by publicly taking up the cause and fighting the battle of freedom of the slave. This period of his career furnishes the best insight into his character. Whatever weaknesses he had, and he undoubtedly had many, disappeared from sight because of the strength and nobility of his courage. Courage is a quality of comparative value. It belongs to every soldier on the battle field. Its conspicuous representatives are, in one form, Thomas at Chickamauga, in another Sheridan riding down the valley to meet and reform his flying columns and pluck victory from defeat. In another form it is the explorer in the interest of science, risking his life among savage peoples or in forbidding climes. For each of these, however, there is the incentive of fame and the applause of the world. John Jay for nine successive years as a representative in the diocesan convention of the Episcopal Church, after the Bishops and clergy and the laity had solemnly reasserted with eloquent periods and brilliant eloquence the doctrines of the New Testament and the love of God for man, and men for each other, would rise and as a fitting supplement to the speeches, present a resolution that the delegates from the African Church of St. Philip be admitted to seats. Instantly the scene changed. The prelates hurriedly consulted, the laymen arose in indignant and angry protest, and the resolution was shelved or defeated. Prelates and laymen alike gathered their garments about them as they passed by this disturber of the peace of the church.

It was the motto on three of the four gates of one of the old cities, "Be bold, Be bold, Be bold," and upon the last "Be not too bold." Few can estimate, unless placed in a similar position, the faith and daring, the endurance and boldness required to receive calmly and not indignantly resent by a severance of relations the hatred and contempt of his fellows. Most men would have cut loose from the church, would have denounced its organization, its members, and its doctrines. But again the pure light of the value and eternal vitality of the truth which had burned so brightly and

beneficently in the experience and sufferings of the Huguenots and their descendants made clear that the New Testament and its author would triumph over the enemy and his representatives of the hour. Every defeat simply strengthened the devotion of Mr. Jay to an organization which he was wise enough to see had in it all the elements of a great Church, and that time and labor would redeem it from its errors.

Forty years ago not only through the South but with ninety one-hundredths of the people of the North, the slave was regarded as sacred as property, as the farm, or bonds or money. The man who attacked the title to this human being was looked upon as we look to-day upon an anarchist. He was denied in this city, in the persons of Phillips and Garrison, an opportunity to be heard, and was killed as a common enemy, as was Lovejoy in Illinois. To help the runaway slave to escape to Canada and freedom, placed the man who did it in the category of the receiver of stolen goods. If he was a lawyer clients shunned him and courts feared him. It was an evidence of that tranquil faith of which martyrs are made, it was because his high social position enabled him to stand up against the storm of rage and ridicule, that Mr. Jay could appear as counsel for the slave, could command the attention of the court, and could finally compel a ruling which made New York a State whose soil could not be trod by the foot of a slave. It is an historical picture of singularly vivid and tragic interest to see this intrepid lawyer standing beside the trembling slave who was before the court on a charge of grand larceny, in order that he might be extradited, advising the slave to plead guilty, on the ground that the stripes of the criminal in state prison, with a consciousness in his heart of his own innocence, were more honorable than the chains of the slave. The innate refinement, the sweet and kindly nature of Mr. Jay made him far removed from the usual type of reformer or agitator. The temptation of a reformer is to be a Pharisee. He becomes absorbed in the good which his efforts are to accomplish, until in the leadership of the movement he sees nothing but bad in all who disagree with him; he feels that he is infinitely superior even to those who agree with him but differ as to the details of the fight. It requires infinite self-consciousness and introspection for the successful reformer not to stand on a pedestal of his own building with the proud declaration to his fellow citizens,

"I am holier than thou." It is difficult for the agitator not to be a demagogue. After many defeats, many dangers, many rebuffs, he finally discovers that there are tricks of oratory—appeals to passion, misstatement of facts and twisting of the truth—which will move audiences and capture multitudes of the uneducated or of the unthinking. He says "my cause must win, my enemies use these weapons, and in the life and death struggle in which I am engaged I am entitled to all the arts and implements of war." He needs indeed marvelous self-restraint and wisdom, remarkable level-headedness and the keenest sense of justice to rely upon the merits of his cause and the strength of its presentation. It was the beauty of Mr. Jay's efforts and the charm of his ultimate triumph that as a reformer he effaced himself. As an agitator he relied solely upon the success of the principles of civil and religious liberty, upon the ultimate and sure triumph of the mission for which Christ came upon earth.

As we in later years saw this refined and sensitive gentleman, the ornament of every social circle in which he moved, the pattern of propriety and humble devoutness in the church to which he belonged, the most deferential and considerate of men to the feelings and opinions of others, the most conciliatory and yet the most firm and convincing of diplomats, it was almost impossible to understand that it was the same man, unchanged, who stood unmoved amidst the fierce passions of the anti-slavery excitement, and as a trusted and recognized leader in one of the most acrimonious and vengeful contests ever waged—a contest which ended in civil war and was settled only by hecatombs of slain and rivers of blood. The apostles of liberty of this great crisis in the history of our Republic, and in the story of a race and the annals of the world will all receive for all time their proper recognition and honor. Lincoln and Seward and Giddings and Wade and Phillips and Garrison and Greeley and Chase and Beecher and Parker, according to their lights and their services, will command the attention of posterity. It is our delightful duty and our supreme pleasure to-night to lay the wreath of our love and praise upon the memorial of this, the sweetest, the gentlest, the most loving, and yet one of the most efficient of the apostles of liberty.

MEMORIAL OF CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

ADDRESS AT THE SERVICES IN MEMORY OF CHARLES STEWART PARNELL¹, AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 15, 1891.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We are here to pay tribute to the memory of a man who made an indelible impress upon his times and performed incalculable services for his country. In this audience are Irishmen of all creeds and widely divergent views on questions affecting Ireland, who for the evening and the occasion lay aside their antagonism to plant a flower upon the grave of one of the most eminent of their race.

The weaknesses and the errors of great leaders are an inseparable part of the elements which affect their fortunes while living, but, when they are dead, the sum of their services to their people is their monument. A career crowded with battles, persecutions, imprisonments, defeats, and triumphs, concentrating in one individuality the hopes and fears, the passions and resentments of a nation for centuries, could not end without leaving behind controversies which time and opportunity alone can heal.

But we have not met to discuss or settle the party differences of the hour. It is our purpose to recognize and gratefully remember the wisdom, the patriotism, the courage, and the superb generalship with which Charles Stewart Parnell organized and led his countrymen to within sight of the promised land of self-government. The historian at this period cannot write the chronicles of Germany without Bismarck, of France without Gambetta, of Italy without Cavour and Garibaldi, or of Ireland without Parnell.

The history of modern Ireland begins with the century. Prior to that is a fearful story of wars, confiscations, executions, and transportations of whole populations from their lands and

¹Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), Irish patriot and statesman, was the son of John Henry Parnell and Delia Tudor Stewart, daughter of Admiral Charles Stewart of the United States Navy. In 1890 he was made co-respondent in a suit for divorce brought by Captain O'Shea against his wife, whom Parnell afterward married. In consequence of this entanglement he was deposed from the leadership of his party, but led a minority till his death.—*Ed.*

homes. It is a monotony of horrors. All European countries have been ravaged by the armies of foreign invaders and devastated by civil strifes, but with conquest or exhaustion has come peace. Then have followed recuperation and prosperity. Commerce has revived, manufactures have flourished, internal improvements have been made, new cities have been founded, and old ones have increased in inhabitants and importance, and there has been solid growth in population and wealth.

Ireland forms the solitary exception to the beneficent power of peace. Her industries have one by one been paralyzed until few manufactures remain, and those are confined to limited territory. Her population has been reduced nearly one-half in the last fifty years. Her story is the paradox of nations. When most at rest she has suffered the most misery. These results must be due to either the conditions of climate and soil, the temper and capacity of the people, or bad government. The land is not to blame. The Emerald Isle was fashioned by God to be an earthly paradise. Its fertile fields invite agriculture and abundantly reward the husbandman. Its noble harbors ought to shelter prosperous commerce, and hospitably entertain the mercantile marine of the world, and its innumerable locations for the successful development of varied industries should attract capital and enterprise. It is not the fault of the Irish people. Driven from home, they have settled all over the globe, and are everywhere distinguished for industry, enterprise, and thrift. They take leading positions in the professions and in business. They show special aptitude for politics, and win distinction in public life. Then her condition must be due to what Mr. Gladstone has recently characterized as centuries of wrong, and what every Parliamentary leader in England for a half-century has, under the pressure of the evidence of Royal Commissions, or when telling the truth to undermine the party in power, denounced in language as vigorous as the passionate utterances of Irish patriots.

The forms of self-government, without the spirit of liberty, work greater injustice than absolutism. The autocrat can be forced to listen to the cry of his people, but when they are misrepresented, or not represented at all, in the Federal Congress, they have no voice. There was no possibility of the Imperial Parliament hearing or knowing or caring for the wrongs or aspirations of Ireland until Parnell. He compelled Parliament

to hear and know and care. Parnell was born one hundred years after Grattan, and he entered the British Parliament just a century after Grattan became a member of the Irish Parliament. It was a century of fruitless struggles, of fearful famine, of patient waiting, breaking out occasionally into fierce revolt, to be repressed with relentless ferocity, of wholesale evictions of tenant farmers and vast emigrations to foreign lands. Grattan was the most eloquent speaker of a period famous for its orators, and a commanding genius when the country was rich in men of genius. His unequaled appeals for liberty have been the inspiration of the patriots of many lands and alien tongues. He was himself the first-born across the seas of the ideas of the American Revolution. The man who took up the traditions of his failure and crystallized them into the forces of success after the lapse of ten decades, had neither eloquence nor spectacular genius, but he possessed the tireless energy, the grasp of his surroundings, and the directness of aim which command the business senates of our day.

The nineteenth century was ushered into immediate contact with its needs and possibilities by the superb figure of Daniel O'Connell. He began in 1800 his glorious struggle for Catholic emancipation. Four-fifths of his countrymen were denied the suffrage, and two-thirds, on account of their religious faith, were not permitted the ordinary rights of person and property. He stood at the head of his people more like a prophet of the Old Testament, who led by faith, than a modern reformer. Napoleon, with the assistance of a vast and complicated machinery, conscripted an army of hundreds of thousands of men, but O'Connell attracted an audience of half a million of people. He felt and enforced the lesson of liberty that all men are equal before the law. The majestic power of such a following behind such a leader conquered the prejudices and convinced the judgments of Sir Robert Peel and the Iron Duke. The victor of Waterloo surrendered to the united demand of Ireland voiced by her greatest son. It was a signal triumph of moral force and constitutional method, where revolution had always failed.

The Liberator, as his countrymen lovingly named him, found his victory incomplete, the redemption of his people impossible under the operation of land laws which were the legal cover for every form of persecution and injustice. With the suffrage so

restricted that there was no popular representation, the Irish delegation was filled with members blindly obedient to one or the other of the two great English parties, and indifferent or hostile to the interests of the vast non-voting population whom they misrepresented.

It was not in the power of O'Connell, or of any man, to inform the British Parliament or the English constituencies of the real condition of Ireland, when the large majority of Irish members denied the existence of wrongs to be righted or evils to be remedied. O'Connell saw that the only possible relief was to have all Irish questions relegated to an Irish Parliament, and he boldly struck for a repeal of the Union. His object was not to dismember the Empire, but to secure the administration of Irish domestic affairs to the Irish people—a thought evidently suggested by the success of the federal principle in the United States. The despair of O'Connell was the birth of Home Rule. It was the desperate groping in the dark for that idea, which, perfected by disheartening defeats and discouraging betrayals, is to-day the aspiration of most Irishmen, and the belief of the majority in England, Scotland, and Wales.

The patriot and statesman saw the impending famine. The combined operation of laws which suppressed manufacturing and varied industries, and drove a whole population to agriculture, which permitted neither freedom of transfer nor security of tenure, and subjected whole counties to rack rents and evictions by absentee landlords, was culminating in one of the most frightful calamities which ever befell a nation. He made one last grand and pathetic appeal. Parliament was deaf, his colleagues from Ireland were indifferent, and O'Connell died of a broken heart.

Three millions of people dependent on public relief, a million dead from starvation and fevers, one-half the population of the country seeking, in exile, homes and an opportunity to live are the cold figures which crystallize results for the historian; but the horrid details are beyond the power of language to describe, or the imagination to grasp. From the depths of this misery sprang revolution, heroic efforts, desperate conspiracies, every form of patriotic endeavor or wild unreasoning vengeance, to be suppressed by an ever present and overwhelming force. It was the opportunity of the office-hunter and adventurer, of the Keoghs

and Sadliers to secure by popular favor power which could be bartered for place or pelf.

In a representative government, composed of different states, existing under diverse conditions, the pride of empire, the sense of security, the feeling of nationality, will always combine the united force of the whole against the effort of any part to violently disrupt the State. While the fight lasts and the fever of nationality is on, they will be blind and deaf to the just demand of the dissatisfied member. The necessity of the disaffected and injured commonwealth is a competent and incorruptible leader, and a united and loyal representation in the federal Congress. Such a commander, with devoted followers, will know no party, except that which recognizes his demands; will permit no measures to pass until the petition of his people has been heard and its prayer answered.

This ideal leader was Charles Stewart Parnell. The time was not yet ripe for this new force. It was a needed preparation, both for the Irish people and the Imperial Parliament, that the old methods should be fairly tried under a leader of ability and integrity. He was found in that picturesque and most interesting personality, Isaac Butt. He tried to consolidate Irish representation for Home Rule. He was compelled to accept candidates who cared more for their Liberal or Tory affiliations than for Irish measures. He was surrounded by members who feared the social ostracism of London society, and longed for the rich places in the British civil service. Yet this brilliant, courageous, undaunted patriot, struggling with poverty, besieged by bailiffs, sacrificing his professional income to his public duties, rose from every defeat, to begin anew with unabated ardor and hope, his battle for justice and liberty. His fight was within the lines of his party, but he never succeeded in convincing its managers that Ireland had wrongs to redress, or in teaching them that coercion was not the way to settle Irish questions, and give peace to the Emerald Isle.

At the hour when the prospect was darkest, and the Irish were despairing of their cause, there appeared upon the field a champion who presented none of the externals of heroism or leadership. No herald trumpeted his coming, no applause greeted his arrival. His comrades had not noticed his presence, the enemy was not aware of his existence. He hated publicity, but was

destined to be the most conspicuous figure in the Empire. He disliked to speak, and whenever possible, avoided the forum or the platform, but he was to voice effectively the demands and principles which had taxed the resources of the greatest orators of a nation justly famed for eloquence. He was cold in manner, undemonstrative, self-poised, imperturbable, neither elated nor depressed, and yet he became the idol of the most impulsive of peoples.

The weakness of leaders is their jealousy of talent among their followers. Many a cause has been imperiled or lost, and many a party driven from power, because the chief could not endure the praise bestowed upon his lieutenants. Parnell welcomed ability, and gave its possessor every opportunity for distinction. His superiors in eloquence, like Sexton and Redmond; in literature, like McCarthy and O'Connor; in journalism, or popular appeal, like Sullivan, or O'Brien, or Dillon, or Harrington, were given the positions where they could best serve.

If he had ambitions, other than for his country, they were never apparent. If he had likes or animosities, they never stood in the way of a useful man occupying his proper place. The inspiration which started him in his career, and guided him in his work, was the motto of the Manchester martyr, "God save Ireland." He saw that for Irishmen to plot against the Castle, or hurl themselves on the bayonets of the soldiery, was madness. He proclaimed that any man who committed a crime was a foe to Ireland. He found that Home Rule was a subject for debate which the House of Commons would wearily listen to and both parties unite to kill. And yet he resolved to win by moral force and constitutional methods. He became master of the rules of the House, and then used them to stop its business. With only three who dared follow, he attacked six hundred and odd, entrenched in the forms, the usages, and the traditions of centuries. "No measures shall pass until the demands of Ireland are granted," was his battle-cry.

Tories were shocked, Liberals indignant, Radicals amazed, and the Speaker paralyzed. Isaac Butt feared the result, and withheld his support. Shaw thought the movement was not respectable, and most of the Irish members agreed with him. Parliamentary procedure is the growth of generations of representative government. It is the pride and glory of England. It pre-

serves the Constitution, and crystallizes into law the opinions of the people. It permits the weight of popular sentiment so to balance parties as to put power into the hands of one which, for the time, best voices public opinion. To interrupt the smooth and accustomed working of this venerable machinery was accounted little less than sacrilege, and believed to be flat treason. Obstruction buried for the moment partisan animosities and ambitions, and brought together all elements to crush the obstructionist.

Though threatened with unknown perils and punishment and the frightful possibilities of being named by the Speaker; though menaced with suspension, and put under the ban of personal and social ostracism; though treated with derision in the House and contempt in the press, the undismayed and unruffled leader stood with his little band across the path of public business, demanding justice for Ireland. He baffled the statesmen who had led the House of Commons for generations by showing them that they could neither stop nor suspend nor expel, for he was acting strictly within their own rules, and fighting with weapons from their own armory.

"Then," said Mr. Gladstone, "when you show us that a majority of the members from Ireland want legislation, we are prepared to listen and act." This proposition could not be satisfactorily answered. Parnell believed that the people of Ireland were with him, but he knew, as did the House, that their representatives were not. Senates do not go behind the senators to canvass their constituents, and Parnell recognized the fatal force of Mr. Gladstone's proposition.

Party leaders, as a rule, are eminent and powerful within recognized lines, and by the skilful handling of men and measures. Great crises develop original genius for the emergency, like Abraham Lincoln. They win triumphs by methods which the veteran soldier has learned neither in school nor on the field, and which he either derides or distrusts.

Parnell was the most resourceful of men, with unlimited confidence in himself, and the rare faculty which inspires unquestioning obedience in others. He said to the Irish people: "If you believe in me, you must be represented in Parliament by members who will act with me, and who can neither be misled, nor intimidated, nor bought. Give your answer to Mr. Gladstone's challenge."

The response has no parallel in the history of the electorate under free governments. It was, "Select your own candidates, Mr. Parnell, and we will elect them." Experience had demonstrated that under the pressure and temptations at Westminster and the disintegrating influences at home, something more than a common sentiment was required to keep constituencies solid and members constant. For this purpose Parnell took control and perfected the machinery of the Land League, which had been organized by Michael Davitt.

It is difficult for Americans to appreciate the Irish land question. Real estate, with us, is sold and exchanged as freely as any other commodity. A bargain with regard to the soil has all the incidents of other commercial transactions. But the land system of Ireland had made a large majority of the population the tenants of a few landlords. The laws were wholly on the side of the landowners, and administered by their agents. The comfort or misery of millions of human beings, the peace or unrest of the kingdom, as not dependent upon legislation, but on the whim or wisdom of irresponsible and unrelated individuals. The necessities of a spendthrift in London, losses at the gambling table at Homburg, or the irritation of the lord against his vassals, would raise rents beyond the possibility of their being earned, and evict thousands to die by the roadside without compensation for improvements or opportunity for defense.

It is a frightful commentary on the situation that, during the famine which carried over a million of men, women, and children to their graves, there was plenty of food produced in Ireland, but it all went for rent, while the potatoes, the sole resource of the tenant, rotted in the ground. The ship from America laden with provisions for the starving passed, at the entrance of the harbor of Cork, three vessels sailing out and filled with export wheat. The British Parliament, the most conservative of bodies, and ruled by landed proprietors, became so impressed with these conditions that between 1870 and 1890 it enacted several of the most sweeping acts ever put upon the statute-book, for the relief and protection of the tenantry of Ireland.

Thus, in gaining control of the Land League, Parnell had the deepest interests of the people as the foundation for political sentiment and personal loyalty. When he entered Parliament at the head of 83 out of the 103 representatives from Ireland, he

held in one hand party power and in the other the homes and the fortunes of his people. He had returned in triumph. The Commons were bewildered. The calm and confident leader who had defied them with three followers, now faced them with the larger number of the Irish members behind him. "I have come with the majority you demanded," he said; "will you listen, now?"

From that hour the Irish question became the foremost factor in British politics, and Parnell the most powerful member of the House of Commons. The time-worn policy of coercion put him in Kilmainham jail, and it became not the cell of a criminal but the palace of an uncrowned king. The ministry which imprisoned him negotiated with him as with a conqueror. The question was not, on what terms will we set you free, but on what terms will you accept release? He did not mince matters. He demanded, and was accorded, the settlement of arrears of rent, the amendment of the Land Act, the abandonment of coercion, and the retirement of Mr. Forster, the coercion minister. As Parnell, fresh from prison, entered the House, Mr. Forster, the defeated minister, in a memorable speech, placed upon the brow of the victor this wreath: "I think we may remember what a Tudor king said to a great Irishman in former times: 'If all Ireland cannot govern the Earl of Kildare, let the Earl of Kildare govern Ireland.' In like manner, if all England cannot govern the Honorable Member for Cork, then let us acknowledge that he is the greatest power in Ireland to-day."

The Tories hailed his alliance with delight. The members who had denounced him as an arch conspirator, and believed him to be in league with assassins, now embraced him as an associate and bid high for his support. Local self-government became a Conservative war-cry. The principle which had been the contemptuous football of parties became the chief plank in their platforms.

But Parnell was insensible to flattery and unmoved by promises. He wanted measures and not pledges. He was cordial with the party which was at the moment most likely to adopt and pass his bills, but he cared nothing for either party. He became the potential force in the Government. He made and unmade Cabinets. He hurled the Gladstone ministry from power and defeated that of Lord Salisbury. He compelled the adjournment of Parliament and an appeal to the country.

The conversion of Mr. Gladstone to Home Rule for Ireland is the most momentous event in the English politics of our generation. He went to defeat and out of power on the issue, and has steadily kept it as the test of faith. The splendor of this statesman's acquirements and achievements obscures his defects and weaknesses. He has had, in his time, no equal as the leader of the opposition. Peerless as an orator, resourceful, versatile, aggressive, positive, fertile in attack, and skilful in retreat, he soon puts his adversaries in the wrong and regains the confidence of his countrymen. It is only in power that he shows uncertainty of policy. When he is burdened with the responsibilities of government, it often happens that it is only after he has made up his mind that he is in doubt. But in the heat of battle and the fury of the fight this hero of many fields does not waver, and Home Rule is a desperate struggle until an Irish Parliament convenes on Dublin Green. He saw that Parnell represented the Irish people, and formulated a Home Rule bill to meet their demands. His defeat, coming, as it did, through the defection of cherished friends, intensified his ardor and confirmed his purpose. He made the principle of Home Rule the cardinal doctrine of his party, and challenged Tories and Liberal Unionists to go to the country upon the issue.

Ireland no longer fights with one arm tied, and the other held back by false friends. Parnell freed them both. Ireland no longer struggles alone; her cause is the stake of one of the great parties of England, and made so by Parnell.

Where all others had failed, he succeeded. The weary waiting, the almost hopeless struggle of a century for local self-government has nearly ended, and the victory is practically won, because, with the existing and growing sentiment and party support in England, Scotland, and Wales, backed by a united front from Ireland, the first act of the Parliament to be elected next year will be a complete and satisfactory measure of Home Rule.

This is the triumph of Parnell. The laws now in force for the benefit of Ireland, which are the direct result of his efforts, would immortalize the memory of any statesman, and give him high rank on the list of patriots. During O'Connell's time every act proposed for the relief of the Irish people was killed, but nineteen bills were passed suspending the writ of Habeas Corpus, and twelve to facilitate evictions and enlarge the area of crimes

and punishments. Isaac Butt's brilliant career presents to the historian years of splendid effort and barren results. Not a single measure of importance rewarded his labors. Upon Parnell's monument his grateful countrymen will inscribe four acts which are a distinct recognition of tenants' rights, and long strides toward the redress of tenants' wrongs.

The lesson of Parnell's life is the superiority of constitutional over revolutionary methods. He demonstrated that nothing is impossible for Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, if her sons are both united and wise. His agitation gave a distinct impulse to the English democracy, and educated and strengthened the radical element in British politics. I have often heard the remark in London that Americans interest themselves about Home Rule in Ireland only because the Irish form so important a factor in the American electorate. It is an ignoble reason for a popular sympathy which is universal in the United States. Our hearts have often been touched by Irish distress, and our minds and imaginations fired by our Irish fellow-citizens, but Home Rule appeals to us as an American principle. It has so superbly stood the strain and been so elastic to the needs of a century of progress, that resistance to its beneficent operation in other lands arouses our interest and excites our amazement.

Parnell appeals to us with peculiar force as the grandson of Old Ironsides. The victories of the *Constitution* were the pride and glory of our young navy, and are the inspiration of our White Squadron. At every supreme crisis in Parnell's struggles were visible the qualities inherited from our hero of the seas. At his hour of greatest danger, when the Pigott conspiracy was weaving about him a chain which threatened the destruction of both himself and his cause, his indifference seemed callousness to crime, and when completely vindicated and again the acknowledged leader of a great Constitutional reform, and at the moment of his greatest triumph, when Liberals, Radicals, and Home Rulers were greeting him with cheers such as never before resounded in the House, "Parnell stood there with his arms folded, a block of ice amid the general flame." I saw Wendell Phillips arouse the coldest and most critical audience in New England to madness and fury without making a gesture or raising his voice above a conversational tone. The superbly controlled passion of the speaker fired the minds and imaginations of his hearers.

Their leader of iron and ice grew in the susceptible hearts and brains of Irishmen until he became idealized into a supernatural figure sent by God for their deliverance.

Integrity and courage are common qualities in representative men, but with Parnell they were faculties and forces. Gambetta molded a Republic out of chaos, but his foes were scattered, defeated, humiliated, and the vast majority of his countrymen were supporting him. Cavour brought together the warring principalities of Italy and created Italian nationality, but he was leading his people of one race and one creed to the fulfillment of the dream of centuries. Bismarck touched the springs of Teutonic patriotism and confederated the German Empire, but his mighty hand gathered the cords of unity which had long been waiting the grasp of a master. It was Parnell's task and fame that he brought together four millions of his countrymen who had been for generations torn by bitter feuds among themselves, and then converted the thirty millions of alien race and faith in the confederate states of the empire to see the justice of his course, and join in demanding of the Imperial Parliament that Ireland should be granted, for her domestic affairs, self-government and Home Rule.

As the rays of the morning sun for coming ages penetrate the shades of the cemetery at Glasnevin, and glance from the tomb of O'Connell the Liberator to the monument of Parnell the Deliverer, may they illumine the homes of a contented, happy, and prosperous people!

MEMORIAL OF KOSSUTH

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICES IN HONOR OF LOUIS KOSSUTH,¹ AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, APRIL 4, 1894.

MY FRIENDS: Our meeting to-night is national and international. It expresses the sympathy and sorrow of America for the death of a patriot who rendered signal services to his country, and a lover of liberty whose examples and teachings have been of incalculable benefit to mankind. It is rare for a defeated and exiled leader to live to witness the triumph of the truth he maintained, and the principles for which he fought by the peaceful workings of the teachings he inculcated. It is rarer for a statesman to concentrate in his person and professions the epitome of the life and development of his people. If America had no other relation to Kossuth than that he was the cause of the immortal letter written by Daniel Webster to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Hülseman, she would hold Kossuth's name in grateful remembrance. That letter was both a revelation and a surprise. It was a declaration of American policy instantly accepted by all parties, and a revelation of the power, the prestige, and the principles of American diplomacy which startled every Cabinet and inspired every people in the world. The Austrian envoy had complained of the interest taken by the United States in the struggle of the Hungarian people for independence, and had clearly intimated that retaliatory measures, commercial and otherwise, would be the inevitable result of such a policy. The position of the United States had been defined as one of absolute non-interference with the political affairs of Europe. Mr. Webster, with the precision and power which made his teachings immortal, put the United States in the family of nations as the friend of and sympathizer with every people fighting to be free. We had no part or lot in the feuds or the compacts between foreign nations, but this Republic was founded upon the principles

¹Lajos (Louis) Kossuth (1802-1894), the Hungarian patriot, released from prison at the joint intercession of Great Britain and the United States, was brought to this country in a national war vessel in 1851. He made many speeches and raised much money to aid Hungarian independence, but his efforts were futile. He died in Turin, Italy.—*Ed.*

of the rights of man, the equality of all men before the law, the denial of kingly authority, and government of the people by the people. Not knowing its own strength nor its increasing importance, not recognized by foreign governments, it had grown upon this Western Hemisphere until it was one of the greatest nations upon earth. Though it could not be drawn into the conflicts of the great powers, yet any people of any power who were trying by every effort and at every sacrifice to enlarge their liberties would always command the earnest and enthusiastic sympathy of the United States. We of the period, young or old, rose from the perusal of that document with a new light upon our duties and a new inspiration as to the mission of our Republic. It sent a shiver through the Courts of Europe and a thrill of hope among their peoples.

By the combined powers of Austria, of Russia, and of treason, Kossuth was defeated and his cause annihilated. A fugitive from the vengeance of the enemies of his country, he found refuge and hospitality with the Turk. No government of Europe dared relieve Turkey of his presence. Turkey, though nobly protecting her hospitality, was in danger of war, to which she was unequal, unless she surrendered the patriot. Then it was that the young Republic of the West sent its warship *Mississippi* to Constantinople and said: "We will receive Kossuth under our flag and with our guns we will carry him and his to that land which is the asylum of the oppressed and the home of the free." This startling decision of the United States paralyzed and disarmed the vengeance of the autocrats. I remember as a boy the landing of Kossuth. The admiration, the enthusiasm, and the love of our people, which had been gathering force and momentum during the voyage across the Atlantic, gave him an ovation which only two other men had ever received—Washington and Lafayette.

There are a few scattered moments in life when the heights and depths of the significance of the occasion become too great for utterance, when the thrill of electric sympathy touches the whole country at once, and brings its inhabitants to their feet with a spiritual shock. Three of these have happened in my time—the surrender at Appomattox, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and the landing of Kossuth.

It was easy to understand after listening to him how he had

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gathered united Hungary at his back and united her people for a death struggle for liberty. Though a foreigner, he spoke to us in our own majestic tongue, of which he was a master. His speeches exhibited a power and a versatility unequaled since Shakespeare, which enraptured his audiences and were read in every household. There was no repetition, though his theme was always the same. Each oration stood by itself, a sustained and superb argument and appeal for the rights of man and the liberty of Hungary.

His mission failed to materialize immediately as he desired. But for forty years afterward he was the centre, he was the light, from which radiated the principles inspiring peoples of every country to renewed and still renewing efforts for freedom. He was an exile and in poverty in a strange land, and yet every day that he lived his presence on earth was a triphammer driving the wedge deeper beneath tottering thrones. He saw Austria grant Hungary those rights for which he labored; he was present in spirit at every session of the Hungarian Parliament at Budapesth, and at every meeting of the Austrian Cabinet at Vienna. He represented so clearly the truth, and the truth unalloyed, that he could form no relations with and could not be deceived by a charlatan like Napoleon the Third, but attracted to himself with resistless magnetism Mazzini and Garibaldi. Italy, freed and united, gave him an asylum. From the little villa at Turin went an influence which was felt in the politics, in the policies, in the liberalization, in the aspirations of every country in Europe.

When Kossuth was ninety years of age the time in which the Hungarian rebels could avail themselves of the amnesty which had been granted them ended. He then became for the first time in history the realization of the most startling and interesting character in fiction—a “man without a country.” He owed fealty to no government, he was under the protection of no flag. He had a distinction never before attained by mortal man—he was a citizen of the world.

The United States would have loved to claim him, but he would not come; England would have honored him, but he could not go; the Republic of France would have naturalized him, but he had a higher mission; Italy would have made him an honored citizen, but he could not recognize the authority of a king. And yet he was not alone. About him stood the mighty spirits of the

past who had fought and become immortal in the cause of liberty. From England came John Hampden, from France Lafayette, from Italy Mazzini and Garibaldi, from Holland William of Orange, from other countries the dead leaders of liberal thought, and from America George Washington. With spirit hands of benediction and welcome they said to him: "We your fellow citizens."

MEMORIAL OF GENERAL HUSTED

ADDRESS AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICES IN HONOR OF GENERAL JAMES W. HUSTED,¹ BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, IN THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, AT ALBANY, MARCH 28, 1893.

SENATORS AND MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY: In the fall of 1852 I stood on the campus at Yale College, a country lad, just entered in the freshman class. I had neither friend nor acquaintance in New Haven, and was utterly lonesome and homesick. A handsome young man, with brilliant eyes, a mass of wavy auburn hair, flowing to his shoulders, and a gay debonair way, stepped briskly up to me, and with a cordial grasp, as if we had been life-long friends, said, "my name is Husted, I am a Junior, and we are both from Westchester County." This was the beginning of our attachment, which remained unbroken amid all the wonderful changes and vicissitudes of the future, and ripened and deepened with time, until our relations were ended by the death of General Husted forty years afterwards. The undergraduate was then developing the qualities which were the elements of his success. He was not a close student, but very active in the work of the literary societies. He was not a factor of importance in the competition for scholastic honors, but he was a potential force in college politics. He cared little who was to be the valedictorian, but was uncommonly anxious to be the leader of his class. He was an excellent classical scholar, and always kept up his easy familiarity with Latin and Greek, but believed with Pope, that

"The proper study of mankind is man."

Like all the men who have risen to distinction in our country, he was compelled to work from the start and, without other assistance than his own industry and ability, make his own career. His remarkable power of lucid explanation made him an admirable teacher. The Academy which he taught after leaving college, to secure the means for prosecuting his law studies, never

¹James William Husted (1833-1892), popularly known as the "Bald Eagle of Westchester," was of the Class of 1854, Yale.—*Ed.*

had a better principal, and he continued to teach until his admission to the Bar. He leaped into the political arena as soon as he received his diploma, and had won the respect and recognition of the county leaders before he began practising his profession. He was faithful to the trusts which he assumed as either teacher or lawyer, or business man, but his models were the statesmen of the country, and his ambitions and aspirations were for public life. It was thirty-eight years from his graduation to his death, and as School Commissioner, Deputy Superintendent of the Insurance Department, Harbor Master, Deputy Captain of the Port, Emigration Commissioner, and Member of the Legislature, he was for thirty-five years in responsible positions in our State Government. But he was also, during this active and busy period, Judge Advocate of the Seventh Brigade, Major General of the Fifth Division of the National Guard, and Grand Master of the Masonic Fraternity of the State of New York.

He served twenty-two terms in the House of Assembly, and was six times its Speaker, a record unequaled, either in length of service, or in the number of elections as presiding officer of the popular branch of the Legislature, in the history of the State. He grasped intuitively the conditions in his district, and possessed endless fertility of resource and audacity for attack. In the quickness of his movements and combinations he resembled General Sheridan, and the suddenness and brilliancy of his assault was like a cavalry charge of Murat's. While still a law student, he upset the calculations and defeated the plans of the veteran party managers, and by a creation and coalition as original as it was bold, carried the Third District of Westchester and elected himself School Commissioner. Rockland County had always been a Democratic stronghold. It was in the same Senatorial and Congressional District as Westchester, and General Husted had frequently canvassed it and was thoroughly familiar with its people. After he had served nine terms in the Assembly from Westchester County, the Republicans of Rockland invited him to come over and lead the forlorn hope. His quick eye detected a division in the apparently solid ranks of the enemy. He accepted the nomination in Rockland for Member of Assembly, and to the surprise of the State and the country, carried the county twice. He thus accomplished a doubly difficult task, first in overcoming a majority which had always been overwhelmingly against his

party, and secondly in succeeding against the strong local prejudices which always exist in our constituencies against a candidate who is not a resident of the district.

It would greatly strengthen and improve our public life if this custom were more elastic. No matter how able or useful a representative may be, no matter how valuable to good government, or to the position and power of his party, his political career is dependent upon the accidents in the district where he may happen to reside. If constituencies could and would choose from candidates without regard to residence, men like Mr. Blaine or Mr. Thurman would always be in their proper places, leading their respective parties, and giving their genius for affairs and ripe experience to the service of their country. The statesman who had been beaten by a nobody upon some local issue could find a constituency devoted to national questions which would gladly return him, and have pride in the fame of their member.

General Husted entered the field of State politics at a time when an old dynasty was crumbling to pieces. New York has been singular in the domination of her great parties by individuals or cliques. They have always been arbitrary and autocratic, and often tyrannical. It is said of a Parliamentary district in London, which will always give a larger majority for a titled candidate than for a commoner, that Marylebone dearly loves a lord. So our State for more than half a century has shown a decided preference for what partisans call a leader, and the public a boss. Power is exercised, either in the recognition and promotion of ability, or in a merciless crusade against talent and ambition, and the ruthless slaughter of independent thought or action. In the one case the party grows in strength and opportunity, and in the other it falls finally into the hands of a diminishing number until the hardships of defeat have restored its vitality and vigor. Edwin Crosswell and the Albany *Argus* had ruled the Democratic Party for a long time, and Thurlow Weed had controlled the Whig, and afterwards the Republican Party, more than thirty years. There was little opportunity for young men in either organization, and revolts against the leaders were becoming more frequent and formidable. The alliance between Seward, Weed, and Greeley, which had exercised such a powerful and historical influence upon the affairs of both the State and Nation, had been dissolved by the retirement of the junior member. Roscoe

Conkling and Reuben E. Fenton were fighting the machine and denouncing machine rule and machine methods with a force and eloquence which have never been equalled. The subsequent position of both these exceedingly able and successful men on this question, is a remarkable illustration of the irony of political evolution.

Young men usually find that where the party is cliqued the only way to secure favors or recognition is by making the leaders fear them. But in associations formed by such considerations there is neither faith nor fidelity. Thurlow Weed maintained his supremacy for a generation because of the wisdom and liberality of his methods. The rule usually is to repel assistance, especially from strong men, because of jealousy, and also on the principle that the more numerous the victors the more minute is the division of the spoils. Mr. Weed, for the greater part of his long reign, was constantly recruiting his forces. When a young man he displayed conspicuous ability, either in the Legislature, or State Convention, or upon the platform, his acquaintance was sought and his friendship gained. This constant replacement of losses, and strengthening of his organization with fresh and vigorous members, made him invincible for a generation. Horace Greeley was unequalled as a partisan editor, but he could not contest the leadership with Thurlow Weed. He was a great thinker and writer, but the weakest, and most uncertain of political captains. He was so vacillating in his movements, and so credulous in his judgment of men, that his selection of lieutenants was often unfortunate, and sometimes whimsical. In the last years of Mr. Weed's active control of the party, he changed his policy. The able men who had acted with, and under him so long, fearing the vigorous youth who were forging to the front, aroused his distrust of these pushing ambitions. The result was first revolt, and then revolution within the party, and next its defeat in the State.

Independence of thought and action have unrestrained opportunity when a party is in the minority. Rewards and punishments are no longer factors in caucusses or conventions, and influence is proportioned to merit. It was some years after the fall of Thurlow Weed, before the party found a new leader. During this period a number of young men, of brilliant ability and great promise, came prominently before the public. Many

of them disappeared afterwards, either losing their constituencies, or being crushed out by some one of the subsequent machines. General Husted was one of the few, out of the many products of the period of party liberty, who survived all the accidents of warring and changing factions. He was more frequently in opposition to, than in accord with, the machine. As one was broken and another constructed, he would still find himself antagonized by it. He had views and would express them, and he wanted reasons before he would obey orders. These qualities made him objectionable to the leaders as they severally came into power. They repeatedly thwarted his ambitions for State office, and for Federal appointments, but were able only once to dislodge him in his district. They tried to beat him by third candidates, they endeavored to defeat his nominations by capturing his friends with places in the Custom House and the Post Office, and on several occasions, preferring a Democrat to a Republican they could not absolutely control, they furnished secret but substantial support to his opponent. But nothing could shake his hold upon his people. They knew him, and he knew them.

He saw the power of Thurlow Weed pass away, he held his own during the brief sway of Horace Greeley, he kept his position under the rule of Reuben E. Fenton, and the mastery of Roscoe Conkling, and notwithstanding all the kaleidoscopic changes following the retirement of Senator Conkling, he died as he had lived for twenty-two years, still Member of the Assembly for the Third District of Westchester. General Husted's tact, talents, and unselfish desire to be useful, made him the selected friend in the House of Assembly of every Governor of the State, no matter what the politics of the Executive. Hoffman, Dix, Tilden, Robinson, Cornell, Cleveland, Hill, and Flower were successively the chief magistrates of the Commonwealth during General Husted's service in the Legislature, and with each of them his relations were close and cordial. He was above small partisanship and cheap politics. He believed the Governor of the State of New York occupied a large place, and that the Legislature should do all in its power to enable him to sustain its dignity. On strictly party measures, he would always act with his party. But a Governor can be annoyed or assisted in numberless ways, which affect only his personal comfort and legitimate powers. In such cases, if the Republicans were in the majority in the

Legislature, Husted was the Governor's most efficient friend, and if the Democrats were in power, he was still the most important factor in the Capitol. Those who wanted to get revenge because some bill had been vetoed, or an appointment to office had not been made, and those who thought it good politics to cramp the conveniences of help, or material for the Executive Chamber, or the Executive Mansion, found in the General an alert, able, and generally successful enemy. Governor Tilden's fame and career depended upon his carrying through the Assembly, while he was a member, his resolution for the impeachment of the ring judges. And yet he would have failed, but for the assistance and consummate parliamentary skill of the member from Westchester. Mr Tilden never forgot this service, and tried in after years in many ways to show his appreciation and gratitude. He thought that Husted, from his associations and intimacies, would join the Greeley movement, which might peril his political future, and at great inconvenience and trouble, he conveyed early information to the General of the Republican victory in North Carolina, which virtually decided the contest against the editor of the *Tribune*.

Our departed friend saw, as no other public man has been permitted to observe, the triumphs and defeats, the hopes and disappointments, the joys and sorrows, the realities and the romance of political careers. Every conspicuous figure in either party during the past quarter of a century has been his associate and his friend. I have referred to his relations with the men who received the honors, and at times controlled the organization of the Republican Party in our State. But he was with Tilden when that statesman was hovering between fame and oblivion, and enjoyed his familiar intimacy and confidence during his gubernatorial term. As a veteran leader in the Assembly, he witnessed the meteoric advent of Mr. Cleveland in Albany, and divined the power which has developed such phenomenal strength in the State and in the country. He was serving his fourth term in the Legislature when a member from Chemung, then scarcely known beyond the boundaries of his county, began a career which has harvested the lieutenant-governorship and chief magistracy of our State, and United States Senator, and made David B. Hill a potent force in the counsels of his party. Speakers of the Assembly George B. Sloan and George H. Sharpe, Titus Sheard and George Z. Erwin, Fremont Cole and William F. Sheehan, Robert

P. Bush and William Sulzer, were not only his associates but his pupils and prize winners in parliamentary law.

There is no talent more common than the ability to speak, and none more rare than the gift of speaking so as to command the attention and substantial assent of the audience. The ordinary talker in a deliberative body kills time and murders patience, irritates the indifferent, and tires his friends. Real debating power is a gift, as brilliant as it is useful. It does not consist in elaborate effort, in the length of the speech, in superiority of logic, grace of diction, or rhetorical finish. Any or all of these may prove a detriment, though, with the master, they are tools to be used, or not, as the occasion may require. Many a massive structure which the orator has spent hours in erecting, has been demolished, and has buried its author under its ruins, by the dynamite of a ten minutes' speech. Legislatures fear bores and resent pedagogues. They love good fighters and hard hitters. Like veteran troops, they do not want to be instructed but to be led. They may sleep through a ponderous oration of Charles Sumner, and rise with delight to greet an incisive sarcasm of Thaddeus Stevens. There are occasions when a labored effort is necessary to outline or defend a policy, or to appeal to the party or the country. But in the exigencies of daily discussion it is the crisp, lucid, and direct debater who carries or defeats measures. The skilful parliamentarian knows instinctively the temper of the House. His greatest triumphs are in humoring its moods. No member was ever more complete master of this art than General Husted. No member ever passed or defeated so many bills. His speeches were rarely a half an hour in length, and most of them not over ten minutes. He captured the attention of the Assembly with his first sentence, and had its approval before he closed. He was not speaking for posterity, but to carry his point. The debate would drag wearily on. The impatient House would have listened to the dry statistician, and the dreary logician, to the spread eagle orator careering among the constellations, colliding with the planets and strewing the floor with star dust, and to the exhaustive and exhausting essayist with whom all arguments are alike important, and the quantity of whose matter obscures its quality. Suddenly, a ringing voice, shouting "Mr. Speaker," would rouse every one, like an electric shock. The flashing eyes of the Bald Eagle of Westchester would cast a

sweeping glance about the Chamber, and arrest universal attention. The weak positions taken by his enemy would be quickly turned, the reasons for his side as quickly and succinctly stated, a burst of humor would give the laugh of friends and enemies alike, to one adversary, and a biting sarcasm to the delight of the audience, pierce another, and the tired and impatient House hailing him as their deliverer would follow his lead.

He was the friend and protector of young members. Few positions are more difficult and embarrassing than those of a new member, whose constituency have elected him to pass certain measures. He is ignorant alike of the rules of the Assembly, and of Jefferson's Manual. He soon finds himself lost in a labyrinth from which he can extricate neither himself nor his bills. He is in despair between his impotency at the Capitol, and his waning prestige and popularity at home. His colleagues, as a rule, are too much absorbed in their own to heed or care for his matters. The veteran member from Westchester was ever watchful for such signs of distress. Even while the House was smiling at the bungling efforts of the proposer of the bill, or derisively laughing at his mistakes, a masterhand would take hold of the measure, and its easy and uninterrupted movement would seem inspired by the wand of a magician.

The hostility of his party leaders would often consign him to minor places on the committees, and the rear rank among his associates, and yet before the session was half over, his unequalled talent on the floor and the devoted following of new members whom he had assisted or rescued, would put him in his proper place, and make the leaders, temporarily at least, his suppliants. He was so fair a political opponent, and always so ready cheerfully to help members of the other party on matters which were not partisan, that they were only too glad to reciprocate when occasion offered. This assistance was of great service to him in several crises of his career. There were times when it might have been good politics for the Democrats to have joined with the organization of his own party to crush the General out. But they never did. When the question related solely to his personal fortunes, and his position in the House, they did what he asked, and often followed his lead in those sudden and audacious assaults upon his adversaries which totally routed them, and scored for him a significant individual victory.

And yet this dashing fighter, this fierce cavalier, this most reckless and daring of combatants, was incapable of harboring or retaining an enmity. He never knew the feeling, which is the luxury of some natures, of hate. If he had not been so buoyant, supremely hopeful, and sincere, he might justly have been charged with regarding politics as a game, with the gambler's admiration for the winner and sympathy for the loser. He was a thorough partisan, and during all his life did yeoman's service for his party. He could not understand why differences of political faith, or policy, should lead to personal enmities. The most childish, and the most frequent exhibition of spleen among politicians, is that of the man in your own, or the opposition party with whom you have a disagreement growing out of purely political affairs, who thereafter withdraws from you the honor of his recognition or acquaintance. It shows both the vulnerable places in that statesman's armor, and an appreciation by himself of his nod, absurdly disproportionate to its value. It is a practice, which so grows by indulgence, that its proud possessor is sometimes himself in doubt whether the person he meets may not be on the list of the excommunicated, and groping helplessly in the Cimmerian darkness which envelops all those whose atmosphere is not illumined by his approving smile. It was never necessary for General Husted to consult a memorandum book before he spoke to a man. He cordially greeted everybody, and that one the most warmly with whom he had the last battle. If he was worsted, he was the first to compliment his adversary upon his victory, and if he was himself the victor, he doubly disarmed his enemy by the generosity of his treatment. He loved to gather about his hospitable table his legislative, or party opponents, and discuss the fields they had fought, the feints, the assaults, the retreats, the false movements, the mistaken manœuvres and recount with hilarious glee, the unexpected stroke which had turned the flank of the enemy, and won the day.

Those who have never been in public life, or active in politics, know nothing of their exquisite pleasures, and keen disappointments. It is the compensations of a career which make life worth the living. If it was all joy, or all sorrow, there would be nothing in it. The politician is always either in paradise or purgatory, and he is ever struggling to stay in the one sphere, or to get out of the other. The intensity and strain, the uncertainties and acci-

dents of politics make possible the warmest attachments among politicians. This is specially true between those of opposite faith. They fight only on broad lines, and are free from the irritations of faction feuds. They generously appreciate the good qualities and abilities, each of the other, and are bound together in bonds of closest friendship. General Husted was peculiarly felicitous in making, and happy in retaining, these relations. His most ardent admirers, and steadfast friends were to be found among the leaders of the opposition. It was the chivalrous spirit and actions of the man which won the applause and affections of his political foes. There were few deeper or more sincere mourners at his funeral than those whom he had conquered, or been defeated by, on many a fair field, and in many a fair fight.

The Legislature, and its popular Assembly, concentrate the attention of the people much more than the executive or the judicial branches of free government. The representatives are in closer relations with the constituencies. It is from the lower house, as a rule, that the highest honors are attained. Five of General Husted's colleagues have been Governors, two of them United States Senators, three Lieutenant-governors, eighteen State officers, fourteen have been members of Congress, twelve have been elevated to the Bench, and many have served with distinction in important positions under the Federal Government. There is a peculiar fascination about the three chief positions in a deliberative body. The Speaker, the leader of the House, and the leader of the opposition, are the great men of the hour, and have rare opportunities for permanent fame. The very few whose names we can recall in our century of Congressional life, who have attained distinction in any of these positions, indicate how rare is parliamentary ability of the first order; and the limited number who were eminent in all three departments, illustrate the genius required to fill them. A successful leader of the House may prove a poor general for the opposition, and be a total failure as a Speaker. We have, as yet, produced but two statesmen who were conspicuously great, and unequalled both on the floor and as presiding officers, Henry Clay and James G. Blaine. The judicial impartiality of the Chair, and the blind partisanship of the floor, require experience, and qualities so distinct, and antagonistic, that their possession rarely appears more than once in a generation. There have been some, but not many, who

excelled General Husted as a leader of the House, and some, but not many, who surpassed him as a leader of the opposition, but not even Clay or Blaine were his superiors as a Presiding Officer. The celerity with which he would unravel a tangle of cumulative, and contradictory motions and amendments, the certainty of his positions, the clearness and directness of his decisions, and the ability with which he brought order out of chaos, and quieted the most disorderly and tumultuous assemblage, were strokes of genius. He never made a mistake which he could not correct and never a misstep from which he could not instantly land on firmer ground.

It well repaid a visit to the Capitol to see Speaker Husted preside. The gratification of witnessing an important thing done perfectly, is almost as great as to do it oneself. The artistic instinct is universal, and all enjoy the work of a master artist. Some member would be occupying the chair temporarily. The House would be in confusion, and many members shouting at the same time for recognition would stop business. Angry altercations would be going on in the aisles, and in front of the desk. The chairman would pound with his gavel, and threaten to hand the more obstreperous members into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, only to be either unnoticed or laughed at. Suddenly would sound through the Chamber a sharp rap, succeeded by another and more emphatic one. Silence would instantly follow. The Speaker would peremptorily order that members take their seats, then instantly utilizing the breathless silence, he would either end the wrangle by a decision which no one dared question, or recognize the member whom he knew could hold the floor, or direct the Clerk to proceed with the regular order. The transformation from riot to business was because the leader had resumed the chair, and the House bowed submissive to its master. No one but he, at least at Albany, has ever been able to make the gavel talk. He won his greatest triumphs in the closing days of the session. This is always a critical period for the Speaker, and a time full of peril to the State, and the reputation of the Legislature. Party bills have been kept behind to avoid the scrutiny of the opposition, and bad bills held in reserve, in the hope of passing them during the confusion of the last hours. The lobby is alert and audacious and the speculators in legislation both inside and outside the Legislature, are exhausting the resources of cun-

ning, and testing the elasticity of the rules to pass their bills, their resolutions and their schemes. It is the work of the week of adjournment which has at times done incalculable injury to the Commonwealth, and rendered some sessions infamous. Here is the Speaker's opportunity and his danger. He will either guide the House, or the House will ride rough shod over him. General Husted was thoroughly familiar with the history and needs of the State. He made himself acquainted with the bills which were pending, both in Senate and Assembly. He knew the inside of all the conspiracies and combinations, and through the veneer of alleged public interests saw the strike, and behind the mask of a fraudulent reformer, the striker. Business would proceed with the rapidity of lightning, and the dazed members be either frantic or paralyzed in the whirl of motions, speeches, reports and roll calls. There was in that maddened throng one cool, supreme, controlling mind. With a skill, which was like necromancy, and a daring which silenced dissent, he sifted the mass pouring from the hopper of committees, and sub-committees, and dropped the bad out of its order, and sent the good through.

The period from 1869, when General Husted was first elected to the Legislature, and including 1892 when he died, has been most eventful in the history of the Nation and of our State. It runs from Grant's first to Cleveland's second election, and from Hoffman to Flower. It is fruitful of popular revulsions, and revivals of prosperity. It is rich in materials for the historian, the political economist, and the political philosopher. It has been singularly full of, and remarkably fatal to great men, and powerful organizations. The re-election of General Grant, and the tragedy which clouded the mighty brain, and ended the eventful life of Horace Greeley; the threatening clouds of revolution which hovered over the claims of Samuel J. Tilden, and their dispersion by the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes; the political revolution against the organization which ended in the nomination of Garfield, and the loss of its fruits by his assassination; the dynamic and romantic events which made Cleveland President, and the receding tide which carried Harrison into the White House, and the electoral results which after thirty-two years, have changed the politics and policy of the National Government by Mr. Cleveland's second election, with the Senate and House of Representatives behind him; these, and the great finan-

cial and industrial measures which have had such potent influence upon the welfare of our country, are the national milestones of these wonderful years.

The rapid rise and the rough destruction of the forces which made Hoffman Governor; the patriotic combination which gave a hundred thousand majority to General Dix; the rising tide against corruption in the State and City of New York, which carried Tilden to the executive chair; the easy succession of Lucius Robinson, and the reclamation of the State by Alonzo B. Cornell; the protest against federal and machine dictation which gave Cleveland nearly two hundred thousand majority, and the more recent contests which ended in the elections of Hill and Flower; and the struggles and their issues which are fruitful of bitter controversy for a generation to come, form the most varied, eventful, and interesting chapter in the history of our Commonwealth.

It will ever remain the unique distinction of General Husted that, though subject to the ordeal of an annual election, he held place and power during this

"Wreck of matter and crush of Worlds."

As a Legislator, he favored all political, moral, and social reforms. On such questions he rose above party considerations. He fearlessly advocated the suffrage for women. He was the most efficient friend of the Union soldier. His best efforts, and most effective speeches, were for high license, or other wise regulations of the liquor traffic, for the protection of the American Sunday, for religious toleration in legislation, and for better and more humane care of the afflicted and unfortunate who are the wards of the State.

Through all his varied career he cared nothing for yesterday, did his best for to-day, and was confident of to-morrow. The rainbow of hope always spanned his sky. The elasticity of his temperament was the marvel of those who were intimate with him. He knew defeat, but had no comprehension of despair. He saw in misfortunes which others regarded as calamities, a providential interposition that he might reap richer rewards in some other direction. Faith, hope and charity were the main-springs of his thoughts and actions. He set a very high value upon political honors, and had a low estimate of wealth. Con-

versations which are so frequent in all circles and at most gatherings, concerning schemes for making fortunes, or the fabulous success of lucky individuals, would neither interest nor detain him; but he would travel a thousand miles on an hour's notice to perform a public duty, or attend an important meeting of political leaders. He knew little about Wall Street or the combinations which, if successful, accumulate sudden wealth; but he loved to talk with farmers about their affairs, and with workingmen about their interests. If some omnipotent power had offered him the choice between being the richest man in the world or Governor of the State of New York—with a certainty of having a narrow income for the rest of his life after retiring from office—he would unhesitatingly have chosen the governorship. He believed in himself and his surroundings. He felt that others had environments covered by the same general nomenclature, but that no one ever lived who possessed so gifted and good a wife, such dutiful and promising children, such worthy and devoted friends, and moved amidst such happy and satisfactory conditions. He never did an injury to any man, but he helped hundreds to positions of profit and trust. Fully one-quarter of his time was devoted to assisting the young or the unfortunate, and his name is heard in the grateful prayers of numberless households.

Patriotic public servant and useful citizen, faithful friend and charming companion, the State which honored him, and which he honored, has enrolled him on the list of her distinguished sons, and we, the Governor, the State officers, the members of Senate and Assembly, and people in private station, who knew and loved him, will ever cherish his memory, feeling that our lives are better and brighter because he entered into them. Dear old friend, hail and farewell!

MEMORIAL OF AMOS J. CUMMINGS

ADDRESS ON RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF REPRESENTATIVE AMOS J. CUMMINGS,¹ OF NEW YORK, IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, FEBRUARY 14, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT: There are many of both parties who knew Amos J. Cummings and loved him who would have joined in this tribute had not the lateness of the session and the pressure of business made it impossible for them to secure the time to do so; but I could not let this session adjourn without having entered in imperishable memorial upon the *Journal* of the Senate a minute of respect for one of the best men who ever served in the House of Representatives—a man of singular career and of most varied experiences, one of those original geniuses who seldom make a success, and therefore the success of one of them is all the more remarkable and commendable.

There are very few Americans who never, at any period in their lives, had a desire to accumulate a fortune, but Amos J. Cummings was one of them. He seemed to be, during all his active career, a child of impulse and of circumstance. He acted many parts, but such was his genius, his power of concentration, and his ability, that in each part he forged to the front and made himself conspicuous. A brief review of what he did will exhibit these peculiarities.

His father and his grandfather were both clergymen. He was brought up and had the training which comes in the home of a village pastor, and yet so restless was his spirit that it could not brook the restraints of home or of school and he became an apprentice in the composing room of a newspaper

As soon as he had learned his trade the roving spirit would no longer let him remain at home, and it was one of the recollections of his life that he had set type in every State in the Union. This gave him, long before he came of age, a wonderful knowledge of the country and a remarkable acquaintance with the people of the different States of the Republic.

¹Amos J. Cummings (1841-1902), journalist, was a Member of Congress from New York districts in 1887-1902. In politics he was a Democrat.—Ed.

Happening to be at Mobile when General Walker started upon his expedition for the conquest of Nicaragua, this restless spirit was at once captured by the adventurer and the adventure. We shall never know whether Walker was a buccaneer, a pirate, a patriot, or what. We only know he started with sixty-one men to capture the friendly Republic of Nicaragua.

It is one of the evidences of the enormous advance of this country in a recognition of international rights and of how far an American citizen can go in violation of those rights that the expedition of Walker, widely advertised, the recruiting known at Washington and everywhere else, was permitted to start for the purpose of making an assault upon the integrity and independence of a friendly power. That could not happen to-day under any conditions. It would be suppressed at once. The expedition ended, of course, at last in disaster. But in it were a multitude of extraordinary experiences which would form a romance if Amos Cummings had ever had the time to write them.

When he came back to New York he entered the composing room of the New York *Tribune*. In a short time he had attracted the personal attention of Horace Greeley, who advanced him to a position on the editorial staff.

Then he fell again into the editorial line as the managing editor of the New York *Sun*, under Charles A. Dana. When the mob threatened to wreck the Tribune building in the draft riots of 1863, it would have done so had it not been for Cummings. The remarkable facility of this man to adapt himself to all circumstances captured and dispersed that crowd of raving lunatics.

Then he joined the Army during the Civil War as a soldier in a New Jersey regiment. At the battle of Chancellorsville, when his battery had been taken and the regiment was on the run, he seized from the dying color bearer the colors, and rushing back with them alone shamed the regiment, so that they followed him and recaptured the battery, for which he received the thanks of Congress and a medal, which was the ornament that he loved best of all during the whole of his life.

He became not only facile with the pen, but developed as a speaker and turned to the platform; his party wanted him in its campaigns; the dinner tables of the metropolis found that he was a charming addition to the after-dinner speaking.

Here you have this varied career. He entered Congress; he

was there for fifteen years, and he so impressed himself upon his associates that he received the extraordinary honor, very few times granted, of being awarded a public funeral on the floor of the House.

It was my good fortune to know Cummings from his early beginnings down to the day of his death. I often wonder what are the influences and environments that most make up a character or shape a career. Cummings never had any settled purpose for any career, but he just dropped into his ideal of the hour and then marched on with it and its adherents so long as he felt that his line of duty was just there.

The wonder is that this roving young printer, under sixteen years of age, falling into all sorts of associations everywhere, this youth of seventeen, a comrade with those wild adventurers of every nationality who were without character, without any regard for law, international or national, or morality, or anything else, as were his associates in the Walker expedition; going through the civil war while still so young—that in all of these associations and all of these temptations the real fiber of manhood, which was the heredity of two generations of clergymen, left him at the end untouched by any of the temptations which must have surrounded a young man under such circumstances.

The character and career of Amos J. Cummings were not formed in the parsonage, nor in the composing room, nor in the associations with his friends, the printers, nor with the adventurers in Nicaragua, nor with his comrades in the Army. They were built by the overmastering influence of two men of extraordinary genius, whom he worshiped—one Horace Greeley, the other Charles A. Dana.

No proper appreciation of the life and services, of the ability and character of Horace Greeley has ever been written. There was a time, and fortunately for Mr. Cummings he was then on the *Tribune* staff and learning from that great master, when there came every day from the *Tribune* office a newspaper with editorials written by that pen which influenced the judgment of millions, which controlled the action of parties, and dominated the legislation of the country.

The most guileless man I ever knew, the most simple, the most credulous, the most unworldly, and yet with a pen in his hand the strongest and wisest, was Horace Greeley. One can imagine

the influence of such a character upon such an impressionable youth and one of such a make-up as Amos J. Cummings.

I have seen many a deathbed in my life; I have witnessed life go out under conditions that were sad or sweet, hopeful or despairing. I never but once saw a man die of a broken heart, and never do I wish to see such a tragedy again.

I made a speech with Mr. Greeley in his presidential campaign, just before its close. We spoke from the same platform, and both of us knew that he was to be beaten. We returned to his home, and he was jeered on the train and at the depot when we arrived. I was with him one day shortly before his death. We went into his study. It was littered with those famous caricatures of Nast, representing him as the embodiment of all that was evil or vile in expression or practice in life.

Mr. Greeley glanced them over, and then he said: "My life is a failure; I never have sought to accumulate a fortune; I never have cared for fame; but I did want to leave a monument of what I had done for my fellow-men, in lifting them up, in doing away with the curse of slavery and the curse of rum; but here I am so caricatured and misrepresented to my countrymen that the slave will always look upon me as having been one of his owners, and reform will believe me a fraud." Then, his head falling upon his desk, he burst into uncontrollable sobs. The brain that had done such splendid work snapped. He was soon after taken to an asylum, where he died. His heart literally broke at the moment when he bowed his head upon his desk.

Another man who subsequently had influence on the life and in molding the work and character of Amos J. Cummings was Charles A. Dana. Mr. Dana was of an entirely different type from Horace Greeley, a man of large and broad culture, of wide reading and extensive travel, of experience in literature and in the world—a man of the world, familiar with the public men of all nations and of the great writers of all countries and of all times—not only an editor, but himself a writer of eminence in other walks of literature. He possessed the quality beyond my newspaper man I have ever known of compressing in a sentence an article which filled a column; of putting in one paragraph a thought which, expanded by others, would have been dissipated by its length; but in a paragraph it became the quotable truth

for every newspaper in the country, and was often reproduced as a condensed expression in the platform of a party.

Through the whole of Amos J. Cummings' subsequent career we see the influence of these two great men, about whom he was always talking and who were his idols. The tremendous, rushing, resistless, Niagara forces of Horace Greeley were in the impulses which moved him; but at the same time in the articles that came from his pen you could see the results of the criticism and teaching which he received while he was the editor of the *Sun* from his master, Charles A. Dana.

Mr. Cummings became a member of the House of Representatives at that moment when there seemed to have come like an inspiration, and almost in an hour, the idea to the people of the United States and to Congress that we must have a powerful Navy. It had been seen by American statesmen for a generation that such a Navy must be built, but the spirit of economy had resisted it always as unnecessary because of the strength of our isolation. But the first year that Cummings was in Congress this idea suddenly and almost as an electric spark permeated the whole Republic. It caught at once upon a mind which had been trained and a life which had been led as had that of our friend. He secured a position upon the Naval Committee. He was during most of his career in the party of the opposition, and yet the Navy, as it is to-day, owes much to the consistent, persistent, able, and patriotic support of this Representative from New York.

He had one other aim, one other absorption, and that was with him always. He became a member early in life of the Typographical Union. I have been, from my occupation and associations necessarily a student of and brought into intimate contact with labor organizations. One of the best labor organizations in the world, full of beneficence, commanding the respect of everybody, and doing infinite good for its own members, is the one with which I was most closely brought in contact for many years as president of the New York Central Railway Company—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Alongside of them is the Typographical Union, of whom I have had much knowledge, though not business relations.

As a member, a lecturer, and an associate in this body, Cummings became familiar with the ideas underlying labor unions, with the best purposes which they had, and with that which was

best which could be accomplished by voluntary efforts, or which should be enacted into legislation. Much of the legislation on the statute-books of the United States for the last fifteen years in behalf of labor owes its position there to the intelligent efforts of this labor man and exponent, in its best and highest sense, of labor.

Mr. Cummings cultivated the faculty—which very few hard-working men possess—of always having plenty of time for anything. Plenty of time for play, for excursions, for social enjoyment with those he loved and who loved him, plenty of time to appear at the banquet hall where the occasion was patriotic or purely social, or for the advancement of some special purpose, and plenty of time to deliver an address, which was in the next day's paper one of the features of the evening. He could do beyond most men I have ever met that most difficult task of amusing a crowd which is assembled under such conditions late in the evening, and at the same time through the fun, joke, and story of weaving a thread of pregnant truths which left an impression which did not die with the flowers of the feast.

In standing beside the open grave of a friend one thought often occurs to me in later years, and that is: What does the world owe this man and how much of the debt has he collected? The world owes to every man living, providing he has the industry and determination to collect it. The world owes to every man more pleasure than pain; more good than bad; more gain than loss; more happiness than sorrow; more success than failure; more love than hate; more friends than enemies; but it rests with the man himself whether he collects that debt, for the world holds fast to the good things which it possesses and lets free the bad; and it is only by labor and energy, only by determination and character that the debt which the world owes to every one is collected. But as I stood beside the bier of my old friend, Amos J. Cummings, as I looked over his life as a printer, an editor, an author, a soldier, and a statesman, and then contemplated his inner life in his home and among his friends, I felt that in his sixty-one years of varied activities he had collected the debt which the world owed him; that he had to his account a large credit of fame, of good wishes, and of loving regrets, and that he found a large credit to his account in the great book of life when he joined the majority.

MEMORIAL OF JOHN H. KETCHAM

ADDRESS ON RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN
H. KETCHAM, OF NEW YORK, IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE,
MARCH 2, 1907.

MR. PRESIDENT: Those of us who have been here for many years have experienced during this Congress and others how frequently death comes where there are 90 Senators and 386 Members of the House. As a rule, the colleague who has departed did not have the qualities of mind or distinction in public life which raised him sufficiently above the average of his fellows for him to be distinguished beyond them all. Now and then there is a rare character who does possess these qualities and has achieved this unique success.

I know of no one in my long acquaintance with public men, covering now more than half a century, who without being spectacular, without calling to himself the attention of the whole country, yet had such a remarkable career as Gen. John H. Ketcham. He lived in the district adjoining the one in which I was born and passed most of my life, and during the whole of his public career he was my intimate friend. I knew him in his private, business, and political life. He had the distinction of being for thirty-four years a Member of the House of Representatives, a period longer than any other man has served since the formation of the Republic, and in the changing conditions, increased population, and greater competition of our times and those which will succeed, I doubt if that record will ever be equaled, and I think he will always stand as the man who spent more years in the public service in the popular branch of our Government than any other one who ever served there.

His career presents a beautiful example of American life. He was born in modest circumstances. He became a farmer in early life, upon a moderate patrimony, and proceeded at once, with the qualities which made his success, to impress himself upon his community. The advantages of education to him were only those of the common school and the local academy, but they

sufficed to overcome all obstacles and to enable him to surpass all his contemporaries.

He was a member of the local legislature of his county as a supervisor from his town the year he became of age. Two years afterwards he became a member of the lower house of the Legislature of the State of New York, and at twenty-five he was a State Senator. He was reelected, and then came the Civil War.

When the volunteer regiments were raised in our State three citizens in each Congressional district were appointed to take charge of recruiting. In his Congressional district they were Benson J. Lossing, the distinguished historian; Judge Emmett, one of the most eminent members of our Supreme Court, and this young Senator. The work of this recruiting service devolved upon this young man, who had already become a familiar figure upon every farm in every household in the district. In three weeks the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York was raised. They were men of his own age, of his own period, his intimate friends, his political allies and associates, and their demand was that he should go with them as their leader to the front, and they elected him their colonel.

He was a young married man with a little family—very young—yet he did not hesitate a moment. He assumed the responsibility of command of the regiment—a farmer's boy who knew nothing whatever of military tactics and who had never been connected with a military organization. But with the same persistent energy and grasp of things with which he had to do that made his success, he drew about him the best military talent available and studied night and day, and used the same efforts with his regiment, until when it came to the front it was a disciplined organization with a competent leader.

During all the years of the Civil War it was the characteristic of the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York that it was equal to any duty it might be called upon to perform. It was in all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac and afterwards in those of the Army of the West, and as in different battles its ranks were depleted they were recruited again from these same farmer boys of the district which its colonel had represented in the Legislature.

He was wounded at Gettysburg, his life despaired of, and

from that wound he suffered during his life. But when he could once more move, though he had ample excuse to retire, he was with Sherman, at the head of the One Hundred and Fiftieth New York, marching through Georgia to the sea.

In 1865 the boys, writing home from the regiment of their colonel, who was always caring for their comfort regardless of his own, whether it was in camp or on the battlefield or in the hospital, created a sentiment in the district that he should represent them in Congress, and he was practically unanimously elected. For four terms he was in the lower House, covering eight years.

Then came one of the most remarkable contests which has ever occurred in our country. It was in 1872. The candidacy of Horace Greeley had demoralized for the time the Republican Party, which had been brought up on the New York *Tribune*, and demoralized the Democratic Party which had nominated its most distinguished, able and bitter opponent as its candidate for President. The Democratic Party then undertook to defeat Colonel, Brigadier-general, Major-general, and Congressman Ketcham. They selected a millionaire opponent, and the contest developed election methods to an extent never before or since known.

In those days we had no civil-service and no corrupt-practices acts. In those days when the courts met and the judge charged the grand jury of the statutory clauses, among which was bribery at the polls, it received no other attention than a smile in the court room. In this contest, which attracted the attention of the country, and especially of our State, General Ketcham was defeated by a few hundred votes. But it was known and admitted that the contest had cost the successful candidate more than a quarter of a million dollars and when the grand jury met again and the judge solemnly charged, no smile was seen in the court among the grand jury, the petit jurymen, the litigants, the lawyers, or the witnesses, because all knew the facts, and many of them were disgracefully connected with them.

No investigation followed and no action was taken, and no public interest in the matter shown. We hear much in praise of the good old times and regrets that they can not return, but such a canvass and election would be impossible now in our State or any other

General Grant knew and appreciated General Ketcham as a soldier, and came, during the General's eight years in Congress, to recognize his talents for affairs, and instantly called upon him to serve the Government in the new organization of the District of Columbia, appointing him on the commission with Governor Dennison, of Ohio, and Henry T. Blow, of Missouri, two eminent executive officers. The General made a deep and profound study of the capital problem. He became familiar with the plan of that remarkable genius, L'Enfant, who was selected by General Washington to lay out this city, then a city of magnificent distances, so well described by that phrase.

During his three years as Commissioner he energetically advanced the plans since carried out and expanded which have made Washington remarkable, and in the full development of which this city will become the most beautiful capital in the world.

But after three years without its old Representative his district found it did not have the same distinction and service as with General Ketcham, and it again called on him to represent its people in the House of Representatives. The second time he was a Member for sixteen years, eight times consecutively reelected, generally without any opposition, though it was one of the most doubtful districts in our State, and often Democratic. But frequently he would be unopposed in order that his forceful genius and efforts might not prevail in the local campaign.

At the end of sixteen years his health failed, and he retired for three years, but the district again demanded him. It would have no one else. He was unanimously called upon and remained in Congress for eight years more, until his death.

One of the most pathetic and beautiful tributes which can be paid to a man was that which crowned his life. It was known that he was in desperate health; it was known that he was paralyzed; that he could perform little or no service for his district or the country, and yet the convention of his party unanimously nominated him, and it was understood that there would be no opposition; but unhappily he died ten days before election.

Mr. President, here is the life of a man who was fifty-one years in the public service, who was thirty-four years in Congress, who served with distinction in the Legislature of his State, who won approbation as a Commissioner of this capital District of the country, and who as a soldier received the commendation of

his brigade and division commanders for distinguished services in the field, and who left the Army a major-general.

Now, what were the peculiarities, what were the characteristics, which made this very remarkable career? He served in Congress under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, James G. Blaine, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, David B. Henderson, and Joseph G. Cannon; and while the *Record* might display little of what he did, he was a most valuable assistant to each one of them. He was in Congress with every President from Lincoln to Roosevelt, and while occupying but little space in the public press he was constantly invited to the White House for his assistance and advice.

It was known that while orators might speak and leaders might direct, there was no Member of Congress in Ketcham's time who could accomplish so much for the success of any measure or the defeat of any bill which was before the House. If he could have written his reminiscences and autobiography, giving the unwritten story of party measures and policies and the secret of success and of failure of leaders during his long term, what a valuable contribution it would have been to our political history!

In New York, which probably more than any other State in the Union has been for a century in both parties subject to dominant leadership, he was always a stalwart. He was in office when the famous partnership of Seward, Weed, and Greeley was dramatically dissolved, and continued during Greeley's temporary leadership and the control of Thurlow Weed. He was in office when Conkling and Fenton had their bitter fight, first Fenton in command and then the autocratic domination of Conkling, and so on down to the time of his death. He never shifted from one side to the other as leaders changed. His own side might be in a minority in the State organization, but his hold upon his own district, from the affection which the people had for him was such that the State organization could never wrest from his hands the organization of his Congressional district.

He was a politician of the old school. He believed in machines. He believed in patronage. He believed in getting all that was possible of positions for his friends. I do not think any man who lived in his time, or any twenty, had so many men in office as General Ketcham. He had an instinctive knowledge when there was a vacancy in any Department of the Government,

and he had a man ready to fill it and generally got him in. The President or a Cabinet minister or the bureau head knew perfectly well when General Ketcham came in that the desired position had to be surrendered before the General retired. He did not confine his activities to political appointments in taking care of his friends. There was scarcely a firm or corporation in the the State with a large force of employees which was not subject to his activities. The New York Central Railroad had the Hudson River division running on one side of his district and the Harlem division on the other, and during the period of nearly twenty years while I was its executive officer if a vacancy occurred in his district General Ketcham knew it before I did—before it was reported to the president—and he was in my office with a candidate for the place, and usually secured it.

I will say in this connection that his selections were always men fitted for the duties. There was no distinction with him as to politics in securing positions. If the candidate was a young man whom he believed deserving or a middle-aged man with whom fortune, for no fault of his own, had somehow gone wrong, he would do for him what he could. Fathers were succeeded by sons grateful to this old general who had either given them in youth a lift in life or saved the family in hard luck from distress.

He had utter contempt for the holier-than-thou patriot. He had an inexpressible and infinite loathing for the man who believed that he was lifted as he tore down reputations.

Now, then, what constituted his enormous success? How did he remain fifty-one years in public life? How did he rise to be a major-general in the hot battles of the Civil War? Why was it he could never be defeated, except in that one extraordinary canvass against him, in his own district? Why was he as fortunate in business as in politics? Because under all circumstances and at all times he was a man of such wise judgment and good sense that he knew a situation before other people; because of tireless industry, which was spurred to greater effort by failure and often won victory from defeat.

He never made a speech, and yet he was more successful than great orators. He never wrote a magazine article or a contribution for the newspapers, and yet he had more influence with the

public opinion of his district than all the orators or editors or magazine writers.

Mr. President, this farmer, legislator, Senator, Congressman, soldier had ideals. He had ideals about his home, and it was a beautiful one, with wife and children. He had ideals about the public opinion of his district than all the orators or editors or for the last fifty years have been before the Congress of the United States. He had his ideals as a soldier, and he met the commendation of those great soldiers whose names will be forever connected with the most glorious part of the history of our country. He had ideals of public life—that he should be true to his country, his friend, and his own manhood and independence.

So Gen. John H. Ketcham lived and died. For fifty years he was in the open and before the public. Important investigations were held while he was upon the platform, but he was never brought in. Great scandals smirched both Houses of Congress while he was in office, but he was never touched. Continually on the platform and in the public eye, his record was always honorable, and he had the highest consideration of his associates, his friends, and his enemies.

I know of no example of a man so inconspicuous and yet so great which furnishes such a noble lesson of the possibilities of American citizenship to the youth of our countries as that of Gen. John H. Ketcham.

MEMORIAL OF WILLIAM H. FLACK

ADDRESS ON RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF REPRESENTATIVE
WILLIAM H. FLACK, OF NEW YORK, IN THE UNITED STATES
SENATE, MARCH 2, 1907.

MR. PRESIDENT: When a man has passed his limit of three score and ten, and four score is near, his death is not an interruption, but the sudden checking of ultimate possibilities. We mourn his loss as we have that of General Ketcham, who died at seventy-four. But when the dread event comes in the early forties it is more than an ordinary calamity. The citizen who is in his meridian and has accomplished something of success is a valuable asset of his community and of the State. He has cleared the obstacles and difficulties from his pathway, his judgment has ripened, experience has made him wise, and the course before him is clear.

Mr. William Henry Flack commenced the struggle early, with no advantages other than those afforded by the common school. He made his fight in the battle with the world in the community where he was born. At forty-six, when he died, he had been a success in business, a trustee and president of his village, chairman of his party committee in the county, and twice a Member of Congress from the district comprising the counties of St. Lawrence, Franklin, Essex, and Clinton. In the usual course of events he should have possessed thirty years more for service to his country and rewards for himself.

The difficulties which surround a country boy who aspires not only to business success, but to a political career, are greater than those that meet the son of the city. This is peculiarly the case where political distinction is desired. The man of the town is absorbed in the hot competitions of his vocation. The theater, the club, and other social diversions claim his spare time. It is only in periods of excitement about public questions that his attention is diverted to political matters. Public opinion in great cities is dormant unless aroused by some crisis in the affairs of the municipality, the State, or the nation. After a period of feverish

and passionate activity the people settle down again to the normal conditions with less interest in public affairs than in those which pertain immediately to their welfare. In the city there is no neighborhood. The citizen rarely knows who lives on his street or who are the occupants of the other apartments in his apartment house. Many a man who has been distinguished and looked up to by his neighbors in the country, who has been a local oracle and in a measure the pride of the people, has come to the metropolis for a larger field for his talents and activities. I have had the ex-Judge and the ex-Senator or ex-Congressman say to me: "I do not know who lives on either side of me or across the way. I am a stranger in the elevator to those who are going to their offices in the vast building. I am jostled in the streets and crowded on the cars. Few call upon my family, and we might almost as well be in the Desert of Sahara. I miss the attention and recognition to which I have been accustomed, and that most delightful flattery in the world, the respect and admiration of men, women, and children, which I had at home, and we are going back. No pecuniary rewards compensate for the loss of that human contact and brotherly feeling which constitute the larger part of the pleasures of life." Under these conditions the organization more than the individual governs his career, unless he can control the organization.

In the country, however, the circle of the citizen enlarges with his activities and he becomes socially and politically well known, first in the town, then the county, and afterwards the district; but he must be somebody and do something which raises him above the average in order to receive recognition as a leader. Happily for our institutions, politics in these rural communities are not the spasmodic and often wild passions or crazes of the hour, but they are the thought and the pursuit of everyone all the year round. The newspapers are not read for the stock market or telegraphic news or cablegrams, but for editorials, transactions of conventions, and speeches of public men. Magazines are on the table of the sitting room not for ornament, but to be read. The lecture hall takes the place of the theater, and there the greatest questions of religion, politics, and sociology are discussed. The interval between the morning and afternoon service on Sunday is utilized as a sort of Chautauqua for the interchange of views, and they promote general education. It is to the credit

of Mr. Flack that he made his career in such a community. There is no community more typical of the very best conditions of rural life in the country than the district which Mr. Flack represented in Congress. Its common and high schools, its academies and its college, are of the foremost educational rank. Its people have always been noted for their public spirit, interest in public affairs, and pronounced convictions. In the best sense they are all politicians, and the schoolhouse is as much a political primary as it is a primary school. Men of State and national fame have been its representatives. No ordinary man could command the suffrages of these counties. The difficulties in the way of success are greater because they are overwhelmingly of the same party, and a nomination is an election, and the competition is infinitely keener than where a nomination means a doubtful fight.

Mr. Flack possessed not only the confidence of the people, which led to his being so often honored, and each time with promotion, but he had in a peculiar degree the love as well as the respect of all. He possessed a personality so agreeable and a disposition so charming that they won to him everyone with whom he came in contact. His illness, unfortunately, prevented continued activities in the House of Representatives, but while here he was a conscientious worker and had the confidence and respect of his associates. He leaves an honorable record for his family and for the representation of New York in the Congress of the United States.

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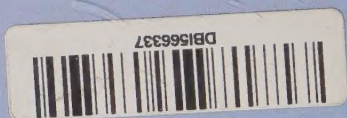
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